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Staff Welfare in Government Departments

Miss D. SMYTH

WHAT exactly do we mean by "welfare" and how should it function in Government departments? We are all familiar with the term as applied to industry, and we have read about Army welfare in our daily newspapers, but is it really required in the Civil Service and, if so, how does it affect the existing organisation?

Factory welfare has now well-defined outlines, welfare in Government departments is still only in the exploratory rather than even in the experimental stage. Experiment presupposes planning towards a definite objective, and, so far as regards departmental welfare, the objective is ill defined, and in many cases planning is non-existent.

It should, however, be realised at the outset how wide is the difference between factory and departmental staff welfare. Factory welfare deals only with the *immediate* problems of an individual. No factory worker feels chained to factory work for the rest of his or her life, but the civil servant, whose training is practically valueless elsewhere, whose conditions of service assume a continuity of employment in what has hitherto been a very limited sphere and who enters the Service during the formative years needs a very different psychological environment from the outset.

A good definition of welfare is that it aims at making an officer's working life as happy as possible, provided always that the proper performance of the work is the first essential. It should be borne in mind that this endeavour is not purely altruistic. Happiness is a great stimulus to good work, and the fewer the psychological misfits and the greater the physical comfort the higher will be the standard of work performed. The Assheton Report (para. 23) stresses the psychological effect on the efficiency of staff of the physical surroundings in which they work, and the industrial world has for some time realised that a man in comfortable surroundings with a contented mind will do better work than the same man in uncomfortable conditions worrying over some personal trouble.

The Civil Service, however, looks at office life as a thing apart, a watertight compartment on which nothing from outside should be allowed to impinge. It is not everywhere regarded as the department's business to consider whether their officers have a long or short journey to work, whether their surroundings are comfortable and attractive, whether there are proper feeding facilities or if any special consideration should be shown on the grounds of health, aptitudes or dislikes, although some advances have been made in these respects during the war years.

The influx into the Civil Service of a large number of temporary staff, many of them physically and mentally below peace-time standards, who have been forced into clerical work for which they have neither aptitude nor desire, has brought into the limelight the many deficiencies in the Civil Service in such matters, and it is now generally recognised that working conditions compare unfavourably with those in the best of outside firms. The Treasury, recognising this, has encouraged departments to appoint staff welfare officers, and has itself appointed a Treasury Liaison Officer to co-ordinate and advise on welfare matters throughout the Service, and there is no doubt that this appointment has done much to raise the status of the individual welfare officer above that of school matron to which many establishment officers desired to relegate her.

This recognition of the importance of welfare as an integral and necessary part of establishment work, though welcomed by the Staff Sides of the Whitley Councils, has not been universally accepted. Many of the older civil servants still feel that welfare is only appropriate to the industrial worker, and that the creation of a welfare service for the black-coated worker involves a definite loss of status, while the attitude of mind that objects to the health lecture on the ground that "it will take the staff away from the work it is paid to perform" is still found even at a high level.

It is still argued that, so far, the Civil Service has functioned quite satisfactorily without "welfare," and that there is nothing to be gained by "coddling" the staff. But is "welfare" nothing but "coddling"? Is it not rather switching over from the impersonal to the personal attitude towards the individual to ensure that his maximum potentialities both physical and mental shall be utilised to the best advantage?

Many departments deal with their staff in a purely impersonal manner. Except in the highest grades an officer having obtained an appointment is allocated to a particular department and/or branch without any regard to his or her special aptitudes or desires, and he is there left to sink or swim. Personal difficulties are ignored, while accommodation, so essential to the comfort of the staff, is solely a matter of so many square feet per person.

Where staff welfare is taken seriously, however, the newly appointed officers are interviewed by the welfare officer, who ascertains whether they are living at home or seeking accommodation near the office, if away from home what are their interests and are there any clubs or classes they would like to join? With a view to suitable allocation, their likes and dislikes and special aptitudes are enquired into and also their physical condition. They are given information as to feeding and recreational facilities and passed on to a New Entrants Training Course where Civil Service rules and regulations are explained and the function and organisation of the department is outlined; while several progressive departments are already using their welfare service to ensure that the men and women returning from the Forces are given every opportunity of adjusting themselves gradually to a very different life from that which they have been leading during the war years.

Accommodation should not be regarded merely as a question of plans to be dealt with on a table at headquarters. Different types of work require different conditions, and certain individual disabilities require special consideration. A typing pool, for instance, requires more heating than a registry, not only because women wear lighter clothing than men but because typists are tied to their desks all day long and have no opportunity of keeping warm by moving about. Similarly officers engaged all day on close figure work require exceptionally good light if eye strain is to be avoided. Noise affects some people's working capacity adversely and others not at all. Some departments are already referring cases of exceptional sick leave to the welfare officer for investigation as to whether a change of work and/or accommodation would be beneficial.

If this latter conception of welfare is accepted it provides the keynote to a welfare officer's functions. If the department is regarded as a machine and the staff as the cogs of the machine the welfare service should provide the oil which contributes to its smooth running. There is, however, a tendency to regard welfare as a self-contained unit, a machine in itself rather than an attitude of mind brought to bear at all points on the existing machine. Good welfare should be just as much an integral part of office organisation as wise supervision. I know of one welfare officer who, three weeks after appointment, when she complained that she had so far been left in complete isolation without any personal or written contact with Establishment Branch, was told that she had "better

STAFF WELFARE IN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

begin on the typists" as though she was there to give them sunray treatment or mass radiography. If welfare is to take its proper place in the Civil Service a much wider conception of its scope is necessary.

Welfare will deal mainly with the lower grades who are employed on routine work. Routine clerical work is dull but unfortunately essential to any big undertaking. The best type of worker resents feeling that his work is unimportant, he wants to feel that what he is doing matters. When we train our supervising officers in wise supervision it is to be hoped that we shall teach them how to make even routine work interesting, but in many cases, so far, we don't even show our workers where the cog fits into the big machine or give them the reasons for our instructions. The feeling engendered by this type of supervision may have serious psychological effects, and it is up to the welfare officer to build up a new outlook, or a feeling of boredom and frustration in the early years may turn a potential first-rate servant of the State into a disillusioned grumbler. A good welfare service promotes not only the closest co-operation between the staff and the department but produces an efficient, healthy, happy and productive organisation.

The Treasury, on the appointment of the Treasury Welfare Liaison Officer, sent a circular to Establishment Officers asking departments to arrange that *all matters having a bearing on staff welfare shall be brought to the notice of the officer responsible for welfare matters.* In practice, the effectiveness of this directive depends on the attitude of the Establishment Branch concerned and its interpretation of the word "welfare." There is very little, if any, establishment work that has no welfare aspect, and if the welfare service is to function smoothly there should be the closest co-operation at all levels between the Establishment Branch and the welfare officer.

Taking this wider conception of welfare, at what points does the welfare officer fit into the existing organisation of Establishment Branch?

The work of a welfare officer falls naturally into three main categories:—

1. The policy aspect of welfare as one of the functions of Establishment Branch.
2. The personnel side dealing with individual problems.
3. General advisory service.

Under 1 would come such matters as methods of handling new entrants, welfare and training of juveniles, staff allocations and transfers, suitability of accommodation and equipment, hours of work, rest pauses, health questions and the provision of amenities such as recreation rooms, canteens and cloak-rooms.

All these matters would arise in the first instance in Establishment Branches, and it is essential that the welfare aspect of any policy should be considered at an early stage before action which may obstruct the welfare side of the question becomes crystallised. The very fact that the welfare officer acts in an advisory capacity and has few executive powers renders it essential that decisions on welfare policy should be made at a high level in order to secure co-operation all the way down the line, otherwise the welfare officer is apt to be regarded as an intruder on another officer's sphere of work.

Category No. 2 is probably the most responsible, and certainly the most human, of any welfare officer's functions. Those who come for interview are nearly always in trouble, and very frequently in trouble connected with their work. A delicate adjustment between the protection of staff interests and the maintenance of discipline as laid down in Civil Service rules and regulations is required. Civil Service uniformity has to be reconciled with individual needs, and this is no easy matter. There is no golden rule for dealing with human

problems. No two individuals react in precisely the same way to the same conditions, and there is no standard by which success or failure can be measured, no yardstick by which to judge whether the right or wrong advice has been given, and the responsibility is therefore all the greater.

It is essential to the proper performance of this work that supervising officers should refer all cases passing through their hands to the welfare officer if personal problems are involved, and that the staff should have free access to the welfare officer. The cases most needing help and advice are often those who are most likely to be timid in asking for it, and the merest suggestion that the welfare officer doesn't deal with this or that or that the interview will not be regarded as confidential is fatal. It must be left to the welfare officer to discourage frivolous complaints or waste of official time, and it should be made clear to supervising officers that she is there to listen to the troubles and complaints of the staff and that applications for interview should not be resented.

The third category aims at giving to the civil servant the type of information and advice available to the ordinary citizen at a Citizen's Advice Bureau. It should cover both internal and external matters such as official rules and regulations, departmental activities both recreational and educational, staff associations (addresses of local secretaries), health facilities (i.e. convalescent homes, clinics, outpatient hospital services), holiday camps, hostels, Civil Service sports, etc.

The diversity of problems worrying the staff may be apprehended from the following enquiries collected from amongst those in a welfare officer's notebook:—

I have just come to London and want to know where I can get classes in biology up to 1st M.B. standard?

Where can I get tuition in Russian?

Where can I get a football for our sports club?

The doctor has ordered me treatment for rheumatism, where can I get it during lunch-time?

My husband is in the Forces and I have just had an ejection order from my landlady. Where can I get legal advice?

My little girl has been at home with my mother who now has to go into hospital. Where can I find a Jewish children's home for her to go to?

I am continually over-sleeping in the morning and arriving late at the office. How can I get an alarm clock?

Where can I get some attractive posters to cover the very dirty walls of our laboratory canteen in the country?

I have been away four days ill and want a doctor. I have rung up six doctors in the neighbourhood but they are too busy to take another patient. Can you help me?

To this type of thing is now added constant applications for advice as to whether it would be better to sit for a reconstruction examination with a view to remaining in the Service or to take an outside post as soon as possible.

When it is realised that most of the organisations which can help in many of these personal problems are only open for a few hours in the daytime it will be realised how difficult it is for staff working until 6 p.m. to deal with many of their own problems.

Civil servants of the near future will in so many cases be allocated away from their home town, not in blocks of staff as has been done with the staffs evacuated from London, but in isolated units, and it must not be left to chance as to whether they are left in isolation or are made to feel that they are part of a community, and can get help and advice in their difficulties.

And now we come to the most knotty problem of all. How and where are departmental welfare officers to be recruited? Are they to be appointed by selection from existing officers or are they to be recruited from outside the Service? It is necessary for the welfare officer to be familiar with departmental rules and regulations, but it is also necessary for her to have a wide experience of general social service activities and some technical knowledge on matters affecting health, such as heating, lighting and ventilation, if her advice is to be of value. Can the civil servant acquire the latter by theoretical training more easily than the outsider can pick up the former?

Exceptionally it may be possible to find a civil servant who has done voluntary social work at a club or settlement, or, in time to come, it may well be that with the increasing State control of social services a welfare training inside the Civil Service may be available, but civil servants come from every kind of home, and it is essential that the welfare officer should be familiar with living conditions other than her own, and for this reason some experience in family case work is vital, whether it be obtained as a result of work as an investigating officer in the Ministry of National Insurance, by seconding for some months to the C.O.S. as is done in the case of hospital almoners or by voluntary work at a settlement. The officer who can only apply her foot rule to other people's troubles will never make a good welfare officer, and where is the civil servant recruited before the age of twenty to gain experience of other standards of measurement unless steps are taken to provide it from outside?

We are now on the eve of a great expansion of the Civil Service, possibly not in numbers, though that may happen, but an expansion of ideals and objectives. Welfare in its widest sense should have a real part to play in this expansion, and it is hoped that departments will take a long-term view on this matter and realise that if the Civil Service is to develop a more human approach to the public it should also develop a less impersonal attitude towards its own employees.

The Training of Civil Servants

By W. A. Ross, O.B.E.

THE training of officials, whether belonging to the civil or the local government service, has occupied the attention of the Institute since its inception. Lord Haldane's inaugural address in 1922 and his subsequent addresses, Lord Milner's address reported in the *Journal* of April, 1923, and many other addresses by notable statesmen or officials or business men deal on very broad lines with this subject—notably Lord Stamp's Presidential Address in October, 1937, on "the Administrator and a Planned Society"¹ (XVI, 3). *The Times* in a lengthy leader on that address drew particular attention to one sentence: "I am quite clear that the official must be the mainspring of the new society, suggesting, promoting, advising at every stage." While not disputing that there was a tendency in that direction, *The Times'* criticism was that the sentence and the whole article in its general tenor ignored the existence of the Cabinet and Parliament. *The Times* also pointed out, what is obviously true, that the address leads up to no definite conclusion as to the new kind of training, if any, that is

¹ The references in brackets throughout this paper are to the *Journal* of the Institute unless otherwise stated.

now required; the capacity for team work does emerge from the address as a prime qualification for high promotion, but this capacity, says *The Times*, is generally considered a characteristic virtue of the traditional Civil Service.

It is probable that Lord Haldane would have agreed in substance with the sentence which the writer in *The Times* challenged. As I pointed out in a previous article in the *Journal* (XX, 12) Lord Haldane did not envisage any secondary rôle for the civil servant in the body politic; the civil servant should be content with nothing but the highest. One quotation from Lord Milner's address will suffice to show his point of view; "with party politics he (the civil servant) has nothing to do; with politics in the higher sense of the word, the sense in which the philosopher uses it, he has everything to do—the really vital interests of the body politic . . . the civil servant does in a perfectly legitimate way influence the course of politics." He also said that the Civil Service was a great steady influence in stormy times—uttering the words in a tone of sombre gravity that still lingers in the memory.

On the other hand Sir Austen Chamberlain, in the Presidential Address reported in the *January*, 1930, issue of the *Journal*; Neville Chamberlain in the address at a Birmingham Conference on public utilities in March, 1929, when he was Minister of Health (VII, 103); and Lord Baldwin in October, 1933 (XII, 3), while they appreciate the importance of the public official all definitely remind him that his function is subordinate. Sir Austen Chamberlain said it was wrong to suppose that the country is governed by civil servants, and reminded his audience of Sir William Harcourt's saying that if high civil servants in Whitehall governed the country, it would be very ably and efficiently governed, but they would all be hanged on the nearest lamp-posts before the end of six months. Neville Chamberlain, in particular, stressed the point that the function of ministers at the centre, and of the local authority in matters of local government, was concerned with policy, and the function of the official was management or the execution of policy. He suggested that at one stage the discussion had strayed into the region of policy when it was allowed to deal with the question whether the cost of water supply should be charged to the rates or to the individual consumer. That he said was a question for the local authority or for Parliament as the case might be. On the other hand, such a discussion was useful in clarifying the issue and in bringing out points which might escape the notice of those who had to decide on policy.

Significant sentences from Lord Baldwin's address are: "I do not say that they (the problems with which public servants are concerned) are the supreme or the ultimate problems; they are subordinate." "When Ministers do not know the right thing to do, masterly passivity may be the civil servants' wisest course." He winds up with a quotation from a classical scholar which includes the following words regarding the administrators of the Roman Empire: "Their very success dug the pitfall which entrapped them. They mistook the means for the end, and forgot (as the best of administrators are prone to do) that the State was made for man and not man for the State." Throughout the address there is, expressed or implied, a lingering regret for the past when government was carried on by amateurs, locally by justices, i.e. country gentlemen, a dislike of the standardising and regulating tendency of the machinery of government which the complexity of modern life has rendered inevitable, and a passionate plea to officials to foster the inherent individualism of the English character, not to become too much absorbed in machinery, to preserve the human touch. As this summary might suggest that Lord Baldwin lacks appreciation of officials it is well to quote another sentence, concerning the English Civil Service. "The remarkable fact is that in three score years and ten the

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reformed Service has attained, among all thoughtful observers, an incomparable prestige throughout the world for capacity, intelligence and integrity." He rejoices in the existence and work of the Institute of Public Administration. It is not apparent that this is entirely consistent with another sentence: "I hope you will escape the modern itch for publicity and preserve your anonymity," for the work of civil servants in connection with the Institute does in a very modest way involve a departure from the principle of anonymity.

There is clearly difference of opinion as to the proper functions and range of influence of higher civil servants with whom Ministers come in contact, and there must consequently be difference of opinion as to the mental and moral qualities which it should be the aim of any system of training to develop. Not all are agreed that the regulator and the referee should now be also a planner and a social reformer. There are many who wish and endeavour to sweep back the tide. Why is the Civil Service, particularly in war-time, viewed in some quarters with disfavour? Why these bitter attacks? An encomium by Lord Baldwin has already been quoted. Similar eulogies by persons other than civil servants often occur in the *Journal*, in the years between the two wars, e.g. "The civil servant is judicial, tactful, impartial, public spirited." The general public become tired of hearing these praises, just as the Athenians became tired of hearing Aristides called the just, and eventually banished him from the State. The general public dislike the icily perfect person,¹ and this dislike develops into active hostility when in the stress of war they find that he is not so perfect after all. Moreover, when things go badly, it is convenient to find a scapegoat in a class who are not allowed openly to defend themselves. There is, however, a deeper cause. Listen to a small group of business men in a London club discussing the Civil Service and you begin to doubt the common saying that the Englishman is not a good hater. I have heard a business man who occupied during the war a very important administrative post describing the leading officials in a very eminent Government Department as the last word in efficiency. This gives the key. So recently as 1928 the President of the U.S.A. Chamber of Commerce is reported to have said: "The best civil servant is the worst one. A really efficient public servant is corrosive; he eats holes in our liberties." Persons who strongly object to the increasing intervention of the State in the life of the nation dislike the civil servant not because he is inefficient but because he is the symbol of the tendencies to which they object. Those who set out to train the civil servant have an invidious task if they add to his unpopularity in proportion as they add to his efficiency. The Service has been charged with cynicism. It might well take for its motto a saying of Antisthenes, the first of the cynical philosophers. "It is a royal privilege to do good work and to be abused for doing it" (*Βασιλικὸν καλῶς ποιοῦντα κακῶς ἀκούειν*).

Assuming, as I think we must assume, that the tide of State intervention will continue to advance, how far is it true to say with Lord Stamp that the official must be the main spring of the new society? Both Lord Stamp and his audience were well aware of the constitutional principle that the official must be subservient to Ministers, to Parliament, and ultimately to the electorate. The relation of the civil servant to the Minister might be illustrated by the relation of the technical expert within a department to the administrative officer. When a question arises that is mainly technical, the expert merely advises, and the administrator has to direct the action to follow on the advice. But it is extremely probable (to put it mildly) that the expert advice will be followed, unless there are over-riding considerations of policy or finance. I can remember no instance

¹ So do the novelists. The late Humbert Wolfe's article in the *Journal* on "some public servants in fiction" (II, 39) conveys in spite of its wit a certain depression—a subconscious longing for a career that gave more scope for dramatic virtues and vices.

in which an administrator has over-ruled the advice of a technical expert on purely technical grounds. It may happen in exceptional cases that the administrator, particularly if he has himself had some scientific or technical training, will question the advice and suggest that an expert of higher standing should be consulted if there is any such expert within the department, or he may bring into consultation some outside expert or body of experts to consider the matter in conference with the departmental experts. Ultimately, however, apart from such over-riding considerations as have been mentioned, the advice of the technical expert or experts will prevail. The position as between the Minister and the civil servant is similar but not quite the same. Generally he will follow the latter's advice in that large range of subject-matter which falls outside party politics. He may take an independent line on a matter on which he is, or thinks he is, well informed. On the larger matters which are included in party programmes at election times, the official must do his best to shape and dress up the policies of Ministers. His function in these matters is to execute—in general—not to advise, except on points of form and detail.

The following sentence occurs in a pamphlet issued by PEP on the Machinery of Government on 15th July, 1941: "Analysis of the strength and weaknesses of the Civil Service strongly suggests that the weaknesses are due not to incapacity, but largely to an overpowering group of inhibitions—a species of administrative Puritanism which subconsciously identifies enterprise and imagination in government as a temptation of Satan." The position, says the pamphlet, cannot be remedied until the nation at large gets rid of the notion that there is something inherently wicked and dangerous in government and that the least government is the best government. Elsewhere the pamphlet refers to the professional agoraphobia of the civil servant. It is true that there are inhibitions, but they have not been so potent in stifling enterprise and imagination as the sentence quoted suggests. Two instances of such inhibitions from this Journal will serve as illustrations. "I do not propose—for it would be obviously improper for a civil servant to do so—to discuss what ought to be the sphere of the State in local administration" (Montagu Harris, VIII, 437). Civil servants in their public pronouncements in the Journal or elsewhere have in this as in other instances faithfully observed the rule of the Service that "*he (the civil servant) is bound to maintain a proper reticence in discussing public affairs and more particularly those with which his own department is concerned.*" It is possible, however, to carry the rule so far as to sterilise thought. The Institute has avoided the difficulty by confining itself in the main to problems of management and the machinery of Government. But not only Lord Baldwin; the recent report on the training of civil servants (Cmd. 6525, 1944) has issued a warning that civil servants should not become mechanised by the machine. There is a still more striking instance in the July, 1926, issue of the Journal (IV, 206) where Sir Horace Wilson is reported as saying in the course of a discussion on State Labour Policy: "I am sure it would be fatal if anybody from the Ministry of Labour could be suspected of having a theory of wages at all. If we had one, the chief thing we should have to do would be to disguise it." The point was that officials of the Ministry might be called on as conciliators or arbitrators to settle disputes between two parties, and they could not perform this function satisfactorily if they were known or suspected to have a bias one way or another. No exception can be taken to the words in the particular context, but they illustrate the difficulty of combining the rôle of planner or reformer with the traditional rôle of regulator or referee. The qualities of a good referee do not necessarily include the high imagination and the consecutive thoroughness of thought required for a constructive scheme of long-range planning. It is generally conceded that the first function has been well performed. As regards the

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second, i.e. the function of the planner and reformer, there is not yet, as already indicated, any general agreement that it properly falls to the civil servant. There can be no question that such a function does fall to him, as regards matters that lie outside public controversy. A keen official in the Ministry of Health is sure to form his own theories on health or local government, and a keen official in the Ministry of Education will form his own theories on education. If the issues are not controversial he is in an exceptionally good position, if his seniors and his Minister can be persuaded that they are sound, to see his theories expressed and confirmed in official circulars or in new legislation when the opportunity occurs. On the whole I think we must accept the position that the higher civil servant, not only in this limited sense but in a much higher sense, is now required by the increasing complexity of the social order and the inescapable trend of events to be a planner and reformer as well as a referee even if it is not yet true to describe him in Lord Stamp's words as the mainspring of the new society.

What then is the ethos, the mental and moral habitude which a system of training should produce or develop in a person who is to be worthy of this high calling? The new recruit will probably receive a booklet containing *inter alia* those admirably expressed rules which embody the Report of a Board of Inquiry on the francs case, published in 1928 and publicly reaffirmed in 1937 in connection with a similar Inquiry. Mr. Dale quotes a passage from the Report on page 103 of his book on the Higher Civil Service, with some mildly acid comments. The passage quoted includes the following: "The State is entitled to demand that its servants shall not only be honest in fact, but beyond the reach of suspicion of dishonesty. . . . The public expects from them (civil servants) a standard of integrity and conduct not only inflexible, but fastidious, and has not been disappointed in the past." The rule about the need for reticence in public affairs has already been quoted in italics in the preceding paragraph of this paper. The Report of 1928 further affirms that the State is in general not concerned with the private activities of the civil servant so long as his conduct therein is not such as to bring discredit upon the service of which he is a member.¹ The sting of this last sentence lies in the qualification and the meaning may be assumed to be that the same high qualities are expected of the civil servant whether in his official or his private life.

It must be borne in mind that the rare cases in which a departure from this code of ethics has been brought to light have been punished with rare severity. If the rules are narrowly and negatively interpreted there is an obvious danger that the civil servants will become a class aloof, shrinking from contamination with the evil in the world, losing the qualities of initiative and adventure. In the researches which led to the discovery of penicillin it was found that the antiseptics then in use were more potent in killing the healthy elements in the blood, the leucocytes, the natural defences, than they were² potent to destroy the germs of infection. When he sallies forth from his ivory tower the inhibited official may still be moderately effective as a referee or regulator. But he cannot construct and originate unless he is acquainted with the raw materials of common life; a few germs of original sin in himself may help him better to understand his fellow men.

It is clear that the rules should be broadly and positively interpreted, perhaps reinterpreted. It is not enough to be good, as someone has said. One must also be wise. The word honesty should include intellectual honesty and the word

¹ The Report of the Board of Inquiry recommends rules of conduct which were later confirmed by Treasury minute (1928, Cmd. 3037 and Cmd. 3038).

² *Journal of the Royal Institute of Public Health and Hygiene*, February, 1945, page 37.

integrity, intellectual integrity. A valuable guide for the interpretation of the rules may be found in the Shorter Catechism—and a still better guide is a book called the Larger Catechism, little known now but much in vogue at one time in Scotland.¹ The general scheme is to set out not only the sins forbidden but also the duties required by each of the Ten Commandments. Thus under the ninth Commandment in the Larger Catechism the duties include—appearing and standing for the truth, and fully speaking the truth and only the truth in all matters whatsoever. The sins forbidden include “undue silence in a just cause and holding our peace when iniquity calleth for either a reproof from ourselves or complaint to others.” The official instruction as to a proper reticence in public affairs must clearly be taken to convey a positive duty that it is right to speak out when the occasion demands it; otherwise the rules are inconsistent with themselves. If a civil servant at a public meeting hears statements from the platform which he knows to be false, and fails to correct or enlighten the speaker and the audience by quoting facts, other than confidential facts, of which he has special knowledge—such failure is inconsistent with any interpretation which common sense, apart altogether from the Catechisms, can give to the words honesty and integrity.

These principles call for modification of much in the characteristic ethos of the Civil Service. The professional agoraphobia must go; the traditional anonymity and self-effacement must at times give place to self-assertion. It is not right that a civil servant who represents the Government at a conference of outside bodies should hold merely a watching brief. We cannot agree with Professor Gray (VII, 232) that “the academic mind seeks for truth . . . the civil servant has nothing to do with truth,” nor with Mr. Sharp’s “the object of thought in the University is truth. The object of thought in the Service is action” (XII, 253). Clearly the civil servant must combine both truth and action. He must not, as Mr. Dale suggests (p. 190 of his book), abandon the free life of the mind. He must not live on an “interim ethic” or in a “twilight world.”² At the same time it is well not to pitch the standard too high. Even the Catechisms remind us that man is a weak, sinful creature at his best, and daily breaks the commandments in thought, word and deed. As Horace says, the wise man will observe a certain moderation even in the pursuit of virtue.

In the discussions in the Journal, and in the various research studies in the Spelman series, on some aspect or other of training, very little reference is made to the civil servant’s private activities. Among the Spelman series is “Scope for initiative in the Junior Grades” by Thomas E. Naughton (1935). The writer sent out a questionnaire on various matters including private activities, but little is said in the pamphlet as to the result under this heading. In all discussions and writings there appears to be a tacit assumption that energy given to outside activities (other than vocational or cultural studies) diminishes the value of the civil servant and is lost to the State. This assumption is fallacious. A person who in his leisure drops the official and becomes an ordinary citizen and as such takes an active part in the social life of the community may render very useful public service. This is most readily seen in the small towns and country districts. There the civil servant very often takes an active part in the communal life, and as a plain citizen gains much esteem and even popularity. Further, if he spends his leisure in this way he is likely to be contented with

¹ Probably in England also. Both documents are included in those drawn up in 1647 by the Westminster Assembly at the request of the English Parliament—later confirmed by the Church, and also the Parliament, of Scotland.

² Lord Eustace Percy in October, 1932, said that ever since the war the Executive had tended to live on what certain German biblical critics have called an interim ethic (XI, 6). The second phrase occurs in Professor Laski’s preface to Mallalieu’s war-time book, “Passed to you, Please.”

his official position. Instances occur where promotion is refused that involves a transfer to the large city. It is obvious that useful private activities will sharpen the wits and widen the outlook all round, thus enabling a man in the junior grades who may be ambitious for a high post to seize those opportunities which as Mr. Naughton points out do in fact occur in those grades. In some departments or divisions of departments, e.g. in the Ministry of Health, before the war they were more numerous than the pamphlet indicates.¹ In the future the opportunities for advancement from the lowest to the highest posts will be better than in the past, but in the nature of things very few can occupy these special posts. For the many persons who do routine jobs, persons who have no exceptional ambition or talent, the ideal of contentment should suffice. The late Sir William Hart in an address in 1934 (XII, 260) on "Incentive" drew an alluring picture of this ideal, but finally rejected it as unworthy. Like so many others, however, he failed to introduce into the argument that element which I have stressed, i.e. the socially useful employment of leisure, otherwise he might have rested more on his first impressions. The ideal will not satisfy the ambitious and the talented in the lower ranks, nor the members of the Higher Service (including at least all from principals upwards) who have more than enough to do in discharging the onerous and exacting functions which now, as in the past, and will even more in the future, fall to their lot.

There is ground for thinking that, before the present war, conditions differed widely between the departments and even between divisions within the same department. Lord Simon in the debate in the Lords of 19th February, 1941, in a speech which reaffirms the constitutional position as to the relations between ministers and civil servants, refers incidentally to a circular introducing reforms in the day-to-day procedure within the Service. These reforms, including the settlement of cases so far as practicable by verbal conference in place of minutes on paper, had already been in operation in the Ministry of Health since the early 'twenties. As regards the question of leisure, Mr. Cole's description in the *Journal* (June, 1942—XX, 5) of the Civil Service as a leisured occupation must seem to many who were in the administrative class even before the war as fantastic, and in the context it is the administrative class he has in mind. But as we cannot assume that he is entirely misinformed, it is reasonable to suppose that in some departments or some divisions leisure did in fact exist. There is clearly need to secure a reasonable measure of uniformity in procedure and a more equable flow of work. Some leisure from pressure of day-to-day work must be found if an effective scheme of training is to be carried out. Not only should assistant principals, and principals at longer intervals, be shifted about, as the official Report on training suggests, and as was in fact done within certain departments before the war, but any advanced senior of the type whom the late Frank Pick called a "sorting demon" should be moved about at intervals from division to division within a department and from one department to another.

One of the most laudable endeavours of this Institute has been to secure closer relations between the public Services and the Universities. The Universities on their part have made a warm response. In particular several of them have set up classes for the teaching of public administration. It is interesting for one without first-hand knowledge to speculate as to the form this teaching takes. Has it cultural value? Does such a subject as the growth of local government and the relation of central to local bodies excite noble thoughts? Does it conduce to tidy thinking? It will certainly conduce to critical thinking on the part of teachers and taught, especially if the teachers incline to the left. A more important result of the liaison between the Services and the Universities will be

¹ There was much delegation of responsibility to juniors and freedom of speech at Conferences (Sir I. G. Gibbon, IV, 259, and XXI, 89).

to bring the teaching of the background subjects, such as history, economics, and political science, more into relation to current topics. Apart from any influence which the Institute may have exercised, and in regions such as the North of Scotland to which this influence has not penetrated, the general trend in schools and colleges is in this direction, even in such subjects as the teaching of classics. A speech of Cicero for the defence or the prosecution may be used as a method of interesting students in present-day procedure in the Courts. It will be all to the good if the professor's audience is to include some more or less mature civil servants, with analytical ability (somewhat over-developed) and with the deadly accuracy, though in a limited field, of persons accustomed to submit notes and memoranda to ministers which when expressed in public may be scrutinised by a hundred vigilant or even hostile critics. The examiner will become the examinee, and this will be good for the professor, for, as Socrates said—the unexamined life is not a fit life for a man. (*ὁ ἀνεξετάστος βίος οὐ βιωτὸς ἀνθρώπου.*)

There was in the past a well-established theory, generally attributed to Macaulay,¹ that a sound training in Greek, or even Cherokee, particles, or some equally remote but disciplinary subject, would induce such mental habits as would fit a man to do any kind of work, would produce indeed something called the administrative mind. In the past the mystics and Neoplatonists believed they could reach the absolute by some process of mental illumination produced by thinking in a void. But no training in Greek or Cherokee particles and no inward process of mental illumination will enable a man to devise a standard type of water fittings, or a standard method of measuring water pollution, or even to devise a model code of building byelaws, or to solve such problems as these—is the emission of smoke essential in the production of steel; is the discharge of crude sewage in the tidal waters of a certain port impeding navigation by silting up the channel; can a water grid be established similar to the electricity grid? These are a few illustrations taken from a part of one division in one department. Over the whole Service there is a large and ever-widening field where a technical or scientific training is very useful if not essential to the administrator. He has experts to advise him. But if he has himself had such a training he is in a better position to check the advice, and the more understanding he has of the subject the more drive he will put into the action necessary to give effect to the advice. This is a matter to be borne in mind in the allocation of posts above the assistant principal grade. There is no reason why the technical expert should not become a director if he has a wide outlook and has the requisite ability. He may well prefer to remain an expert adviser as he has more real influence in his own sphere in this capacity under present circumstances. There is a trend in the educational world and the national life towards the technical and scientific, and away from the literary and humanist tradition. Following a technicians' war this trend is likely to develop. One may regret it as Lord Baldwin looked back with regret on the old rule of the country gentlemen, but, like him, we must bow to the inevitable. In any event there are still spheres of action for men of the old tradition.

The mention of a technicians' war should remind us that many public servants, and of the new recruits the majority, will have served in that war. Many of the new recruits will have already acquired habits of leadership and the habit of taking responsibility. Some of the most successful public servants between the two wars had served with distinction in the last war. So far from shirking responsibility as civil servants are alleged to do, they were ready to settle anything on earth. The lamp-posts of Whitehall had no terrors for them.

¹ Sir H. F. Carlill (quoting Macaulay) in his address on "Administrative habits of mind" (*Journal VIII*, 120).

THE TRAINING OF CIVIL SERVANTS

The only effect of the inhibitions of the Civil Service on these men was to make them more wary—if one may borrow words applied by Mr. Dale to Morant. Reading Lord Perry's speech in the Lords of 19th February, 1941, I have tried without success to think how the same persons can be avid of power and yet shirk responsibility. His picture of the civil servant is self-contradictory, being the picture of some strange monster like the Chimaera of Greek legend, a compound of lion, goat and serpent, breathing out not smoke and flames but, in a leisurely way, Departmental Orders at the rate of 2,000 a year.

Nothing that has been said should be taken to imply that the importance of training on the job, the doing of day-to-day work, is not appreciated. The quality and volume of this day-to-day work are not realised by the critics of the Service. Much is routine and can be delegated. But there is much of it that calls for the anxious weighing of pros and cons, for the same temper of just dealing that is required of the judges in the courts. They, however, are not expected to prepare with precision schemes of new legislation, and long-term programmes for preventing in advance the obliquities that come before them in the Courts and for promoting in a positive way the well-being of the nation. As the civil servant is now expected to perform both functions, and as the first function, i.e. the handling of individual cases, however difficult and important, may lead to a disconnected habit of mind, a preoccupation with abnormalities, it is advisable to relieve him at times of part of this day-to-day work and give him a chance to acquire the habit of continuous and constructive thought as secretary to a committee, or by putting him to work on a Parliamentary Bill (perhaps the best work that falls to a civil servant) or by encouraging him to work out a thesis—something in the nature of practical, or even fundamental research, the latter being preferable from an educational point of view as it tends to eliminate that disease of occupation, the departmental mind. The official Report on training recommends in selected cases a period of sabbatical leave in the early 'thirties. I think a second period should be allowed, as Mr. Dale suggests in Appendix C to his book, between the ages 45-50. Travel alone will not shake a man out of his official grooves—*caelum non animus mutant qui trans mare currunt*—and he should be expected to produce on his return some kind of thesis or report on a subject chosen by himself and not too closely connected with the work of the office.

National Insurance and National Assistance Local Offices

By F. MARCUS ARMAN

Note.—This article attempts to forecast and discuss the administration of those services for which the Minister of National Insurance will be responsible to Parliament.

The views expressed and the conclusions drawn are those of the writer as a private individual; they do not purport to be those of any Government Department.

So far as is possible the forecast is based on known facts, i.e. on statements made in the White Paper, Cmd. 6550, and on Ministerial pronouncements.

For Notes see end of Paper.

Reference is also made to current practice in the social insurance and allied services of to-day where that practice seems likely to be adapted.

Behind every suggestion made lies the assumption that legislation will follow the plan indicated in the White Paper. This does not mean that the writer regards the White Paper as perfect or imperfect, neither does it imply that legislation will inevitably be precisely on White Paper lines.

INTRODUCTION

BECAUSE the Government has decided upon a dual system of insurance benefits plus assistance for those who need it, and has decided "to retain in the final arrangements separate administration for Social Insurance and National Assistance,"¹ these services will be locally administered under separate managements. The White Paper proposals, however, go beyond this division:—

"The report (i.e. by Sir William Beveridge) proposed that the task of placing people in work should either be transferred from the Ministry of Labour and National Service to a Ministry of Social Security, or at any rate be conducted at the local Security Offices. In the Government's view neither of these suggestions would be right. Unemployment benefit is designed merely to fill a temporary gap in wage and earning employment. The latter should represent the insured person's normal condition. The employment service fulfils two functions; it helps the worker to secure suitable employment and it enables industry to obtain labour as quickly as possible. There must be a close connection between paying unemployment benefit and placing people in work, but to make the organisation of the latter dependent on that of the former would be to put the emphasis in the wrong place. The employment service should remain in the Employment Exchanges and under the Ministry of Labour."

Probably few people would dissent from the proposition that the Employment Exchanges should retain the job of finding work for the unemployed—or for those desirous of a change of occupation. This highly specialised function ought properly to be so regarded. It is also perhaps convenient to pay unemployment benefits and to make claims for such benefits at the same point at which registration for work takes place.

At present unemployment assistance is claimed and paid, save in exceptional circumstances, at Employment Exchanges, but the work of administering the scheme rests with the Assistance Board. The Board use the Ministry of Labour local offices as their "agents" only in a limited sense. It is not clear whether the Government intend to operate on a similar basis so far as unemployment benefits are concerned.

What is clear is that the Government propose to have three local agencies concerned with the Social Security Services—excluding paying agencies pure and simple. These will be:—

1. the Local Office of the Ministry of National Insurance;
2. the Local Office of the Assistance Board;
3. the Local Office of the Ministry of Labour;

the last-named at least paying and receiving applications for unemployment insurance benefits and for unemployment allowances.

LOCAL OFFICES

The Ministry of National Insurance will establish "a wide network of local offices at which the public may lodge claims, seek information or guidance, and obtain payment of certain benefits."² These offices will not operate in a vacuum.

They will need to work with the Assistance Board and Employment Exchange local offices, and a good deal of interchange of correspondence and of inter-departmental contacts at the personal and local level will be needed if the service as a whole is to be properly integrated. Where the cash benefits are insufficient or where other non-cash services are needed by particular clients, not only will inter-departmental references need to be made, but members of the public will need to be referred from one office to another. People should not be expected to travel long distances to obtain the services they require; regard must be paid to public transport facilities as well as the population spread in determining the location of these offices.

Ideally there would seem to be great merit in the grouping of the local offices of the Ministry of National Insurance, the Assistance Board and the Ministry of Labour and National Service under a common roof. Such groupings would cut out a great deal of inter-office traffic both for officials and for the public. Local authorities have for many years recognised these considerations, and there would seem to be a great deal to be said for the Government following their example and planning a Government block of offices adjacent and complementary to Local Authority Civic Centres. There seems no good reason why administrative centres at which all local and central Government services are available should operate only under post-Blitz conditions.

THE FUNCTIONS OF LOCAL NATIONAL INSURANCE OFFICES

The precise functions of the local offices of the Ministry of National Insurance have yet to be defined. The matter can perhaps best be considered by discussing the functions for which the Minister will be responsible to Parliament, some of which it is already known will be performed elsewhere.

We know that there will be a large central office at Newcastle dealing with records of insurance histories, and that, probably, claims for retirement pensions will be made to that office. We know that claims for unemployment benefits will be made and paid by Employment Exchanges. We know that the Assistance Board will deal with people not covered by the insurance scheme and will supplement benefits where need is proved. We also have the Minister's statement: "Then we shall have local offices to which people can come for guidance and advice, and we shall have regional offices. We must try to decentralise as far as we can, rather on the lines of the Ministry of Labour to-day."⁴ The White Paper⁵ also states that claims may be lodged and certain benefits paid at local offices.

All this suggests that the following items of business remain to be dealt with:—

1. The provision of a locally available Guidance and Advice Service to the public.
2. The task of classification, *i.e.* the division of the population into classes, *viz.*, employees (Class I), the self-employed (Class II), housewives (Class III), adults who do not earn (Class IV), children (Class V), and people over working age (Class VI).
3. Work in connection with the application, authorisation and payment of family allowances.
4. Work in connection with the application, authorisation and payment of orphans' allowances, sickness benefits for the self-employed, dependants' allowances, maternity grants, widows' benefits, death grants, and industrial injury benefits.

Most of these functions would seem to be appropriate to local office administration. There are, however, some possible exceptions; classification and family allowance work may be done at Newcastle, local references only being made in cases of dubiety. Industrial injury work, involving as it must quasi-legal specialised consideration, may be handled in the regional offices by a specialised staff using the "local" office, as such, only for application and, possibly, pay purposes.

The remaining functions would seem likely to be performed at local offices within that wide network which is to be established rather on Ministry of Labour lines. The appointment of Sir Thomas Phillips from the Ministry of Labour as the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry may have significance in this connection.

It is a little difficult to foresee what part "the provision of Guidance and Advice" will play in the new department. The Ministry of Labour and National Service have set up their "Resettlement Advice Service" to facilitate the smooth transition of people from war-time to peace-time conditions; the National Insurance Department's functions in this matter are unlikely to cover the same ground as the Resettlement Advice Service. On the other hand, where benefits under the insurance scheme are represented to be inadequate in terms of cash the Ministry will presumably refer its clients to the Assistance Board.

Presumably also where benefit is disallowed because of misconduct, or otherwise not payable, clients will again be referred to the Assistance Board. Both these assumptions regarding the transference of responsibility for these types of cases from the Insurance Department to the Assistance Board do, in fact, follow the practice of the Ministry of Labour to-day in relation to unemployment insurance benefit cases. Where the benefits are inadequate or not payable the Ministry of Labour sends its client to the Board.

In its simplest form a "Guidance and Advice" service may be no more than a question-answering agency. Telling people who inquire where to go and what to do is a proper part of a public office function. It is, of course, important that this function should be adequately performed. In some degree the efficiency of National Insurance local offices will depend upon the efficient handling of "signpost enquiries." But a "Guidance and Advice" service which warrants special mention in a White Paper and in Parliament is surely very much more than this. It would be unthinkable that highly skilled "Guidance and Advice" on personal problems should be withheld from benefit claimants or from those who did not seek monetary help while it was automatically given to applicants for assistance through the machinery of the Assistance Board. The Board has already a direct statutory obligation to promote the welfare of persons in need of work and to administer supplementary pensions in such manner as may best promote the welfare of pensioners.⁶

The need for a general "Guidance and Advice" service has been recognised for many years because the social services and the conditions of modern life are so complex that laymen are often ignorant of the help available to them. Because of this, and with the approval and financial support of the Ministry of Health, the National Council of Social Service set up Citizens' Advice Bureaux in 1939.

"The Bureaux are not centres for Government propaganda; still less are they relief agencies. Their business is to supply reliable information in answer to their clients' questions, to give advice where needed, and to know where to direct enquirers in need of further help, whether from Statutory or Voluntary services. This last very important part of their work makes it desirable that at least one fully-trained social worker, familiar with all the network of Statutory and Voluntary agencies should be in charge

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of each bureau, lest on the one hand enquirers should go away unhelped, or on the other hand the bureau itself should embark on the distribution of relief which is foreign to its purpose and constitution."⁷

These war-time Citizens' Advice Bureaux are for the most part run by voluntary part-time staffs. Many of these people are not "trained social workers" and, in the nature of things it is difficult to maintain continuity of experience in an organisation run on this basis. Nevertheless, despite considerable variations in the quality of the service rendered, the Citizens' Advice Bureaux have demonstrated that there is a real need for some such service in the future. The continuance of an Advice Service on a voluntary basis now that the war is over may well be precarious; many of those at present helping in the bureaux regard that voluntary work as "a war job."

It may be that it is the intention of the Ministry of National Insurance to take over and expand this Citizens' Advice Bureaux work and to incorporate it in its "Guidance and Advice" service. There would be great advantage if this is the intention. Staffing continuity would be achieved, the accuracy of information given under "official" auspices would be constantly checked, and the function of the bureaux would be closely related to the "signposting" direction of the Ministry's clients.

The administration of the various benefit claim and authorisation services which we may assume will form a considerable part of the local office work need not present any special difficulty. Procedures for both the public and the staff need to be devised with economy of means having regard to the purpose to be served. There is little point in discussing what are mainly procedural matters in this article.

PAYING BENEFITS AND ALLOWANCES

It seems probable that the Government intend to deal with this question of the payment of benefits and allowances by a diversity of means. Payment of certain benefits may be made at the local National Insurance Office; "sickness benefits will be payable according to the claimant's choice, either by postal draft or in cash at the local office to a deputy appointed by him, but where in the circumstances of his case neither of these methods is appropriate it will be paid in cash at his home. For some benefits it will be more convenient for payment to be made through the agency of other Departments, e.g. the Post Office for Pensions and the Employment Exchange for unemployment benefit."⁸

It was made clear in the course of the Parliamentary debate⁹ that family allowances will be payable through an "order book" encashable through the Post Office. While in many localities such an arrangement may well be convenient, it seems scarcely necessary to further burden Post Office counter-clerks with all these payments. The parent may live near the National Insurance Office and should surely be given the option as to where the allowance may be drawn, or if the parent so desired the money might be automatically placed on deposit in the Post Office Savings Bank.

HOME VISITING

The White Paper¹⁰ does not say very much on this matter, but what it does say is significant. "Any overlapping of inspections or visits or duplication of staffs can be avoided by providing for agency arrangements between Departments as at present . . ." In the course of the parliamentary debate Sir William Jowett said: "There have been in the past valuable personal contacts made by agencies which, if our proposals are accepted, will disappear. These valuable contacts must be maintained . . ."¹¹

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The visiting of clients in their homes plays a large and important part in the administration of the statutory Social Services to-day. A single household may be visited by no less than eight officers, all from different authorities visiting for different, although allied, reasons, as the following table shows:—

<i>Visiting Officer from</i>	<i>Reason for Visit</i>
Public Assistance Committee	Application for Public Assistance and Welfare.
Pensions Officer Customs and Excise ..	Non-contributory Old Age Pension.
Local Authorities Blind Persons' Welfare Committee.	Blind Domiciliary Assistance and Welfare.
Local T.B. Authority	Tuberculosis Allowance and Welfare.
Local Authority Housing Department ..	Assisted Rent Scheme (Council Houses).
Ministry of Health	Application for Contributory Old Age, Widows' or Orphans' Pension.
Approved Society or Friendly Society ..	Application for Sick Benefits N.H.I.
Assistance Board	See paragraph following.

There would clearly be an administrative economy in reducing the number of agencies making domiciliary visits: in that connection it is interesting to note the position of the Assistance Board in this matter. In the period of twelve months the Board's officers visit all their supplementary pension clients, *i.e.* about 1,325,000 cases covering the needs of 1,550,000 old age pensioners,¹² and additionally they visit their Unemployment Assistance clients. Because the Board's organisation for this visiting function offers a ready means for making contact with large numbers of people throughout the country, the Board to-day acts as visiting agent for several other Departments. The schemes covered by the Board in this way include:—

- (a) obtaining signed statements of circumstances from dependants of members of H.M. Forces following application for a dependant's allowance, as agents for the Defence Departments and Dominion and Colonial Governments;
- (b) obtaining signed statements of circumstances in connection with War Service Grants—for the Ministry of Pensions;
- (c) similar work, in connection with Service dependants' pensions for the War Office; contributions towards the expenses of children evacuated overseas for the Children's Overseas Reception Board; payments to certain refugees for the Home Office; and in connection with certain Colonial Office schemes.

The centralisation of domiciliary enquiry work of this kind in a single agency has much to commend it on the grounds of economy alone. There is, however, another and equally important advantage, for the greater the division of this function the more restricted becomes the concern and experience of the visiting officer. The officer visiting the home needs to combine the general "guidance and advice" function of the National Insurance Local Office with the practical task of dealing with the specific business on which he has called. While he ought not to probe matters clearly outside the range of his enquiry he will be, nevertheless, the Minister's representative to his client. Clearly this is a specialised function.

Nothing has been said in the White Paper or in Parliament about the visitation of the sick: the duty is at present performed by Approved Societies and Friendly Societies. The Minister's statement does, however, suggest, "that these valuable contacts must be maintained." The purpose of these visits to

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the sick is twofold; firstly to prevent by "lay" means any abuse of sickness privileges, and secondly to fulfil a general welfare function, i.e. a friendly, human Guidance and Advice service. In the case of ordinary short-term sickness little is needed in this direction, but in the case of continuing illness there is potentially great value in such "lay care" in supplementation of medical care. Such visitation might ultimately be taken over by the National Health Service: it might be given by the Ministry of National Insurance local office staff or it might be done by Assistance Board officers in the course of their other visiting duties. All three ways are administrative possibilities. Nevertheless the Assistance Board, acting as agents in this matter, seems the only way it can be done to prevent "overlapping of inspections or visits" within the terms of the White Paper suggestion.

Since the Assistance Board has a statutory welfare concern for its clients and "That the Board take seriously their responsibility for the welfare of the persons whom they assist is evidenced by a statement of the Board's Departmental Whitley Council which outlines plans already carried out and others contemplated for a special training of the Board's personnel"¹³ there is something to be said for such an arrangement.

THE ASSISTANCE BOARD'S POSITION

"It has been stated that when the new insurance scheme is in operation there will be in reserve the National Assistance scheme to meet the requirements of the specially necessitous case. The Government propose that the scope of National Assistance (now confined broadly to persons in receipt of old age pensions, widow pensioners with children and able-bodied persons normally employed in insurable occupations) should be extended to include financial assistance to all on proof of need; and that the administration of National Assistance should be centralised in one Department.

Detailed proposals for bringing to an end the present system of public assistance are being worked out and will include any necessary adjustments of the existing provisions relating to the "disregard" of certain types of resources. It suffices here to say that the health functions of the public assistance authorities will be merged in the new National Health Service; that the care and maintenance of orphaned and deserted children will remain within the sphere of local government, as will the provision of accommodation for such old persons as need it. On the other hand, the duty will be placed on the Assistance Board of making suitable provision for those, other than the sick, the young and the old, for whom assistance in cash is not appropriate. The Board will also be given the functions of the Customs and Excise Department in respect of non-contributory pensions, so far as they continue."¹⁴

This is what the White Paper said about the position of the Assistance Board in relation to the new scheme. In the course of the parliamentary debate, again and again Ministers underlined the importance of the Assistance Board's service in preventing want. Nothing could be more specific than Sir William Jowett's statement: "Anybody who cannot manage on the benefits he gets under this scheme, will be entitled now to go to the National Assistance Board, and, if he can show need, he can get further assistance."¹⁵ Later in the course of his speech Sir William Jowett said:—

"National Assistance is not part of the Social Insurance Scheme but, as I have said, it stands behind the scheme. It has many points of contact with the scheme. It helps those who fail to qualify for benefit, and it helps . . . those who, because of special circumstances, cannot manage on

the benefits they get. . . . We shall have to enlarge the powers of the Assistance Board and we shall, correspondingly, diminish the powers of the local authorities who will no longer pay cash allowances, and will continue only with their institutional services. Thus do we see at last the break-up of the Poor Law."

We are told, too, that the standard on which cash assistance is paid will be on scales prepared by the Assistance Board for the approval of Parliament, and that the Minister of National Insurance will answer in Parliament for the Assistance Board.

The Board's present expenditure, on supplementary pensions alone, is approximately £55 million per annum,¹⁶ the Government estimate¹⁷ an Assistance Board expenditure of £69 million in 1945, £73 million in 1955 and £70 million in 1965. Sir William Beveridge schemed for a declining Assistance Board expenditure, £47 million in 1945, decreasing to £32 million in 1965.¹⁸ These figures are significant. They imply that the Government anticipate that, of the total sum expended on social security each year (i.e. on National Insurance Benefits, National Assistance, Family Allowances and the National Health Service) 10 per cent. of that total will be spent on assistance. But 10 per cent. of the total estimated expenditure does not seem to provide a realistic estimate of the volume of work which will flow to the Assistance Board. On the cash side many of the benefit supplementation payments the Board may make will be small in comparison with the benefit expenditure. Three or four such cases may well amount to no greater cash expenditure than one benefit case.

It will be clear from the foregoing that the place of the Assistance Board in the scheme proposed by the Government will be very important.

CASH AID TO ALL—ON PROOF OF NEED

The insurance benefit rates given in the White Paper when compared with existing unemployment allowance and supplementary pensions scales suggest that the supplementation of benefits will frequently be necessary. Indeed, over 75 per cent. of the present man-and-wife supplementary pensioners get more now than the White Paper retirement benefit rate. The sick, disabled, or unemployed family man will similarly frequently need more than benefits provide, and he will presumably follow the Minister's advice and go to the Assistance Board.

Given a high level of employment and an effective National Health Service, unemployment and incapacity due to illness should usually be of shorter duration than heretofore. Nevertheless the chronic sick, i.e. those whose period of incapacity extends to the point when they are placed on "retirement" rate, will be unlikely to manage without further aid. Any resources these people may have had are likely to have been liquidated in the course of prolonged illness.

So far as the short-term supplementation of National Insurance benefits is concerned the number of cases will depend, to some extent, upon the degree of voluntary insurance undertaken in supplementation of the official scheme. This, in turn, depends in part upon the general level of wages and salaries and on the incidence of income tax for manual and moderately paid people. Sir Ronald Davison has pointed out in *The Times* that refunds of income tax under the "Pay as you earn" scheme may be of particular value to persons whose earning capacity has temporarily stopped. If these refunds are made promptly, recourse to the Assistance Board may often be avoided: if delays occur the question of recovering assistance payments from income tax which is refundable may need to be considered.

NATIONAL INSURANCE AND NATIONAL ASSISTANCE LOCAL OFFICES

It would seem, therefore, that the "continuing" clients of the Assistance Board will be from among the aged and the chronic sick. There will be also an ever-changing group of clients from among those whose earning capacity is temporarily arrested and who need benefit supplementation. This cash-allowance work of the Assistance Board will be similar in kind although wider in scope to the present work of the Department. Such work, for its successful administration, depends on the existence of an adequate basic scale—a matter for Government, and an administrative devolution of authority which permits adequate flexibility in the handling of individual applications. Unlike benefit rates under the Insurance scheme, the Board's allowances, while based on a scale agreed by Parliament are subject to discretionary adjustment. Speaking at a conference in 1941, Lord Soulbury, Chairman of the Assistance Board, said:—

"They (i.e. the Board's officers) must, of course, meet the material needs of the pensioners in accordance with a prescribed standard.

"But these needs must be met with flexibility. In short, as I have said, needs must be met on an individual basis and must, therefore, be separately ascertained in each single case. We do not expect our officers to be tied down to a meticulously fixed amount arrived at by an arithmetical calculation. We expect them to make a proper use of the Board's discretionary power to adjust a supplementary pension to meet special circumstances or to make grants for exceptional needs."

It is precisely because individual officers of the Board have to run this discretionary service for the Board that the training of Assistance Board staff has become such an important part of the Board's administrative function.

THE RECALCITRANT CLIENT

It has already been suggested that the Ministry of National Insurance and its agent the Ministry of Labour and National Service will pass on to the Assistance Board those whose statutory benefits are insufficient for their needs and those for whom benefit is inappropriate.

Given a high level of employment the problem of how to treat the suspected "work shy" is simplified. The only satisfactory test of willingness to work is an offer of suitable employment. Nevertheless even when such a test has been applied there are likely to be a few recalcitrant individuals for whom provision must be made. Appropriate action must be related to the circumstances of each case. There are degrees of recalcitrance: discharges may be without reasonable justification. An employer's statement that "Mr. X was dismissed because of unsatisfactory workmanship and intolerable rudeness" may have no justification in fact, and be little more than an expression of opinion which would be more accurately phrased, "Mr. X did not fit in with my ideas." Who is to say where the fault lies in an isolated case of this nature? In such circumstances it may well be that the employee misjudged the work for which he was suitable, the Employment Exchange may have selected the wrong man for the job, the employer, on whom ultimate responsibility for the selection of his staff must rest, may have made a mistake.

In the next degree are those where a proved but isolated instance of minor misdemeanor leads to discharge. Here, again, there is nothing vicious in such behaviour, and the presumption is that the client will soon find other employment. A minor penalty would seem appropriate in such circumstances unless indeed the Ministry of Labour can educate employers to stop sacking people for trivial offences. As employers learn more of management—labour relationship techniques such cases should decline.

The problem of the recalcitrant client is not of this nature. It is that of the thoroughly anti-social individual who never holds a job, who constantly haunts Assistance Board offices and, to-day, Public Assistance offices, and who is a nuisance to himself and society. Here is the "problem case," and that reality must be faced. "Sanctions," as such, do not tend to remove the occasions of such behaviour, and appropriate action would seem to combine mild sanctions with an "all out" attempt to rehabilitate the individual. Fortunately the numbers involved are small.

The Ministry of Labour and National Service have a trained officer of the Provisional Council for Mental Health attached to each Divisional Controller's office. This officer, or, better still, specially selected and similarly trained officers of the Assistance Board, should interview these people. Psychiatric treatment should be made available to them if that course is desirable, and the acceptance of such treatment would in itself be an important sanction (i.e. a qualification for the receipt of the cash aid). Attendances at a "Special Training Centre" akin to the "work centre" idea (but more euphoniously named) might be another "sanction." It is important that the aim of such "Special Training Centres" should be to re-educate this tiny minority and to prepare them to take their place in normal society. A punitive atmosphere in such a centre would militate against its success. The Prison Commissioners have made an important experiment near Wakefield in the rehabilitation of some of the toughest elements in the community somewhat on these lines; they may well be able to give advice in this matter.

WHERE CASH AID IS NOT APPROPRIATE

The abolition of the Poor Law does not mean that the services which that agency provides to-day will disappear. The Government propose to place on the Assistance Board the duty of making suitable provision for those other than the sick, the young and the old, for whom assistance in cash is not appropriate. This proposal will add an entirely new set of functions to the Assistance Board. For the first time the Board will have to deal with the problem of vagrancy, social misfits, and other "Institutional" groups. In part the appropriate treatment of the recalcitrant client may mean a certain amount of institutional work in special training centres on the lines already discussed.

VAGRANCY

There are two ways of approaching the problem of vagrancy; it would seem to be socially undesirable to follow the older Poor Law method of "catering for vagrancy," and policy should be directed to the cure of this evil. The way is open since vagrancy has practically stopped during the war years. Every step must be taken to prevent the re-emergence of a vagrant section of the population. It seems desirable, therefore, that the Board should set up pre-training hostels, under friendly sympathetic management, to reclaim the potential vagrant for the sake not only of the individual but of society.

One does not envisage a situation arising after the war akin to that which arose during the pre-war days of industrial depression when substantial numbers of men roamed the country in search of work. Nevertheless the experience gained during those years is still available. Outstanding in that experience is the memory of so many decent working-men who as a result of "taking to the road" degenerated from harmless tramps into vagrants.

After unemployment the occasion of this decline and fall was an inability to live an economically bearable life because of the then standard of unemployment benefits and allowances which did not always enable the recipient to live

at home without feeling that he was sponging on his relatives or to maintain his accustomed lodgings. There were, too, those who "took to the road" to escape social ostracism following trouble with the law. Both these groups often found their transient state worse than their former difficulties and fell into bad habits. The staffs of public offices only too often viewed with suspicion these mobile people; their vagrancy was taken for granted, and if they were offered work it was that which was unattractive and of a casual character. Rarely were they warned of the dangers of an itinerant life and of the consequences of following such a mode of life. When such advice and guidance was given—as in Young Wayfarers' Hostels—effective follow-up action was almost impossible. Nevertheless the number of potential vagrants known to have been restored to normal ways of living was encouraging.

It seems reasonable to hope that most potential vagrants can be induced to become normal citizens, given always a high level of employment. But the problem is not wholly of this nature. There are still a tiny minority of itinerant tramps, the indigenous hobos who wander and cadge their way through life. Men who use, or used when they were open, the casual wards for night shelter during inclement weather. One thing at least seems desirable; it is that these professional hobos should not be brought into proximity with the amateur transients who are potentially recoverable. Society has no strong obligation to the hobo—for the hobo rejects society. The few hobos remaining are aged, and while they will have to be provided for the main issue is to use every possible means to prevent a new generation taking to a wayfaring life.

THE SOCIAL MISFITS

Local authorities provide to-day through Public Assistance and Public Health Committees for those who need institutionalised care. The White Paper says that "The duty will be placed on the Assistance Board of making suitable provision for those other than the sick, the young and the old, for whom assistance in cash is not appropriate."¹⁹

It seems necessary to examine what sort of people these are for whom assistance in cash is not appropriate. Some will be the recalcitrant few, others actual or potential vagrants; both these have already been discussed. The remainder are those who, for a variety of reasons, cannot find their particular niche in society. They fail to fit in, either with normal people, or with normal self-reliant social conditions; they need "protected" living conditions and, in some instance, protected working conditions.

Abnormality, in this sense, usually derives from a physiological or psychological defect or both together. The borderline between the need for medical and non-medical care is difficult to define. Moreover, medical knowledge regarding the case of physiological and psychological disorders is increasing year by year. Even so it must be recognised that at the present time many who are afflicted by abnormality cannot be cured.

As a general policy it seems that the only line to take is to attempt cure and rehabilitation so far as that is possible, and to endeavour, for the remainder, to enable them to live as reasonably satisfying a life as is practicable. This may perhaps best be done in two ways; firstly by transferring to the National Health Service responsibility for all those for whom there is a possibility of cure, or for whom there is a need for continuous medical surveillance; secondly, by the Assistance Board providing institutional care for the remainder and by the closest partnership between the Board and the National Medical Service in caring for these people. The initial segregation of these people in this way should be done by members of the medical profession who alone can form an opinion in each case.

It is assumed that those who are hospitalised by the National Health Service will be given occupational therapeutic treatment as well as purely medical treatment and attention.

Suitable occupation will also be needed for those left in the care of the Assistance Board. Only too often in the past mere "time serving" occupations have been given to the inmates of Public Assistance Institutions. The importance of occupational therapy is only just beginning to be recognised, and the use of these methods may at least enable those for whom there is no known cure to live a better life than would otherwise be possible. There seems to be great scope for the closest collaboration between mental health experts and the Assistance Board in arranging experiments on these lines. Above all these, social misfits must not be lost sight of, their condition must be studied, medically and otherwise, and every way of effecting a cure attempted.

Institutionalisation of people is a palliative rather than an end in itself. Institutions need not be drab, dreary and prison-like, and this has been demonstrated by many local authorities and other agencies. For the most part the smaller type of hostel seems desirable, since greater classification is practicable following the break up of larger units. This question of classification needs most careful consideration not only from the point of view of administrative convenience but from a medical standpoint.

ASSISTANCE BOARD LOCAL OFFICES

At present a single Board's local office²⁰ may serve territory which includes several Employment Exchange areas, a number of local authority Public Assistance relief districts and ground covered by several Customs and Excise Pension Officers for non-contributory old age pension purposes.

It has already been emphasised that, ideally, the local offices of the Ministry of National Insurance, the Assistance Board and the Ministry of Labour, ought to be housed under a common roof. A wide network of Ministry of Labour local offices already covers the country; there were 1,620 offices in 1938²¹ and presumably about the same number of local offices will be required by the National Insurance Ministry.

In contrast to this wide network of offices the Assistance Board at present organise their local office work in about 350 units. There were more offices than this earlier in the war, but many were closed for reasons of manpower economy. While the Poor Law "cushion" is available to meet sudden and urgent need this arrangement, while rather inconvenient for the public, could perhaps be justified as a war-time economy measure. With the abolition of the Poor Law, however, a much wider spread-over of Assistance Board local offices appears to be necessary.

The Board's work under the new plan will be to give aid of an individual character. It is not the sort of work which can be tackled on mass-production lines, and there seems no reason why it should not be performed in very small local offices, some of them with a staff of only two or three. The local offices from which Customs and Excise officers conduct non-contributory old age pensions business to-day are for the most part of this size²² as are many Public Assistance relief offices.

Small and widely spread Assistance Board offices would need to be grouped for control purposes. The controlling office might also be concerned with institutional establishments within its territory. Because of the need for co-operation with the National Service on the institutional side of the Board's work, and, in other connections, it is perhaps worth considering whether the territory covered

NATIONAL INSURANCE AND NATIONAL ASSISTANCE LOCAL OFFICES

by those control offices (perhaps called "Regional Offices") should be coincident with the "joint authority" areas proposed under the National Health Service administration.

If this organisational method is adopted, and it seems the only way of achieving the necessary spread of Assistance Board offices, it is essential that the staff in local offices should be fully empowered to take decisions on their own initiative. The mantle of personal legal responsibility not to permit need to go unmet, at present worn by Relieving Offices, will fall on the local officers of the Board.

¹ White Paper. Cmd. 6550, paragraph 161.

² White Paper. Cmd. 6550, paragraph 158.

³ White Paper. Cmd. 6550, paragraph 157.

⁴ *Hansard*, 2nd November, 1944 (922-933).

⁵ Cmd. 6550, paragraph 157.

⁶ Section 10 (4) of the Old Age and Widows' Pensions Act, 1940. Section 35 (2) of the Unemployment Assistance Act, 1934.

⁷ Social work—July, 1941.

⁸ White Paper. Cmd. 6550, paragraph 157.

⁹ *Hansard*, 3rd November, 1944, column 1113.

¹⁰ Cmd. 6550, 161.

¹¹ *Hansard*, 2nd November, 1944, column 992.

¹² September, 1944. *Hansard*, 19th October, 1944.

¹³ "Old Age in the New World." Emily D. Sanson. (Pilot Press, Ltd.)

¹⁴ White Paper. Cmd. 6550, paragraphs 159-160.

¹⁵ *Hansard*, 2nd November, 1944, column 986.

¹⁶ Based on P.Q. 1965, *Hansard*, 19th October, 1944.

¹⁷ White Paper. Cmd. 6550, page 49.

¹⁸ Beveridge Report Table, page 199.

¹⁹ Paragraph 160, Cmd. 6550.

²⁰ The Assistance Board call their local offices "Area Offices." The word "local" is used throughout this article to avoid confusion.

²¹ Ministry of Labour Report, 1938.

²² Specialised women Pension Officers are employed by the Customs and Excise Department only in large centres of population; outside these large centres the work is done by Officers mainly concerned with Excise work.

Greater London Plan, 1944¹

By SIR GWILYM GIBBON

I HAVE been pressed several times to comment on the planning reports for London and Greater London, but have hitherto refrained. I know well the work of Sir Patrick Abercrombie, his wide knowledge and experience, his eager enthusiasm and unflagging energy, and the many services rendered by him to the cause of planning and the preservation of amenities. With his company of assistants, he has produced a remarkable report on Greater London—and a valuable report if his recommendations are not treated as more than suggestions. My present comments will be limited in the main to that report and the proposals about satellite towns, the backbone of his scheme.

The mischief is that Professor Abercrombie was set an impossible task. To prepare a sound scheme for an area even less important and complex than London or Greater London is a task beyond the competence of any one planner, even a prince of planners. It is a job which calls for the co-operation of experts

¹ From *The Architect and Building News*, 1st June, 1945.

in a number of fields, with each expert of high consultant rank so far as available, and all working with the planner as a team under his general oversight. Anything less is almost playing at planning.

And it is foolish parsimony. The difference between a very good and a mediocre scheme can rise in the long run to millions of pounds in cases of this kind.

Take, for example, the location of industry, a subject much to the fore at the present time because of some ill-advised proposals put forward by the President of the Board of Trade, proposals which have evoked some interesting constructive criticisms. In particular it has been strongly urged, as some few of us have long urged, that any sensible policy for the country as a whole can be built up only after thorough local and regional investigations, regional especially, carried out in close touch with those who know and have intimate experience of the needs of industry. There have been reams of talk about industrial location, but singularly little factual research, though some interesting enquiries are now being made. The Barlow Report is of little service for this reason, though regarded by many as the bible of location. Some persons do not seem even to know what is meant by factual research.

It is common ground that a term must be called to the continued sprawl of Greater London; the bother is about the how. The remedy proposed in the Abercrombie Report is the currently popular one of satellite towns. The only existing two, admirable in their way, have grown gradually to modest size over many years. Nobody has yet devised means, without draconian measures, of synchronising large provision of employment and of homes for the workers. And that is essential except for slow growth. It might be done by subsidies, but they would have to be big—and very unlikely, in the spite of more pressing claims.

The migration of industries to satellite towns might be accelerated by refusals to allow extensions or to carry out public improvements, to relieve congestion for instance. But it is unlikely that much would be done in these ways except over many years. And even then probably only if the satellite were near enough to London to make daily travel fairly easy for those who lived in the one place and worked in the other.

There would be other troubles, including finance. It is true that the London County Council built the big settlement of Becontree outside their area, and some other large ones, but these were for persons who worked in London. Not even the large heart and, not less essential, the big purse of the County Council would persuade that body to pay heavy subsidies, and that over many years, to provide homes expressly for persons who were to work as well as live well away from London, even if the Council were legally empowered to do so. And still less would neighbouring authorities be willing, many of them already heavily burdened with rates.

Again, the industries most likely to migrate to satellite towns would be the "clean" and those with prospect of steady employment. These, too, are just the classes of industries which those responsible for the satellites would set out to attract—and who would blame them?

But what of the effect on London and its neighbouring towns? It is by no means good for them to lose these industries. Nor is it in the general interest: there is more reason for keeping the clean in the highly populated areas and sending the dirty and noxious (now many fewer than of old) to localities where they will do least harm. And, similarly, there is a sound case for keeping steady industries, especially in those parts of the metropolitan area where a good deal of intermittent employment is almost certain.

The fact is that the pros and cons of satellite towns need to be much more thoroughly examined. Whatever their advantages, and I have never minimised these, there is much more to be said on the other side than has been realised. If only a few were to be established this "much more" might not matter much, but it does matter much for the proposed ten of the Abercrombie Report.

There is an even bigger issue in the background, a much bigger—one that has never been considered in this connection so far as I am aware. Industrial production is passing through critical changes, a veritable revolution. Even now the country is only slowly awakening to the fact, and what it means. If we are to regain prosperity after the war, much more if we are to win "full employment," we must largely increase production per man-hour in many industries—the PMH as it is termed in these days of capital-lettered hieroglyphics. We can do this sufficiently only by equipping works with modern plant, a matter in which we have fallen behind some other countries, notably the United States, partly for historical reasons. If this be done, much more will be produced with fewer men and, in the course of the years, many more men will have to find new employment, and that even if there should be an increased demand for the goods produced in the old. There will have to be much more mobility of labour. And this process is likely to go on indefinitely, for discoveries and inventions will continue at increasing pace, short of some great cataclysm.

It is therefore desirable that the modern town should include a liberal variety of different employments, so that men (and women, too, of course) shall have more chances of moving from one to another without having to migrate to another district, though there will inevitably also be much of this. A large variety of employment was recognised as desirable even before the war, particularly to cushion unemployment, and also to afford good opportunities for employment for different members of the same family. It has been a common cause of complaint that we have not had more of these broad-based towns.

Moreover, it is highly desirable that a town should have room for some of the new industries which will arise, probably even more abundantly than before the war, and there were many then, in order that these may provide employment for those who can no longer find work in their old industries. Any good plan must take full account of these needs and these trends. This country has been criticised for always preparing for the last war: planners should take thought lest they be found preparing for the conditions of yesterday or just to-day and not for those of to-morrow.

In addition, there should be reasonable room for expansion of works. There have been a large number of Nuffields and Dennises up and down the country who have started in a small way and have grown, some to great girth, some to more modest size. The country has gained enormously from their initiative and energy. It will have even more need of such men in the coming years, because of the more fluid conditions of industry. Wise planning should afford them facilities for expansion—and, incidentally, without endangering any national treasures which are beyond price.

There is still one more among other considerations which must be mentioned. It is highly desirable that the principal of the new towns shall be big enough to justify providing genuine industrial estates—not just small "trading estates" such as were set up in some of the depressed areas, though these have their place, but estates of the order of Trafford Park though not necessarily so big. Those concerned with planning do not even yet sufficiently realise the advantages which can thus be gained for production, advantages which the country cannot afford to neglect.

A town of 60,000 inhabitants would not fill this bill, far from it, and that is the limit usually considered desirable for a satellite town and adopted in the

report. There is no magic about 60,000; not so long ago the sacred limit was 30,000; with more enlightenment the limit may reach 100,000 or more, even among the elect. Much more research is required for deciding with any assurance what is the optimum size of a town to fulfil all the desirabilities, and what the possible minimum and maximum. At a venture, I should be inclined to put the optimum at from 200,000 to 300,000, and the passable minimum at about 100,000, provided that the towns were well-developed in distinct communities, each forming a definite unit within the larger unity of the town.

There are other reasons for this course. Few, I imagine, if indeed any, want the open belt around London and its developed neighbours spotted with satellite towns just for the love of them, and least of all should those who are keen on preserving the countryside. They should be acceptable only if there be no better alternative to something much worse, the sprawl of the leviathan. (Incidentally, if a town is not very big itself and does not form part of a very big urban group, it should usually be much more advantageous to provide for any substantial overspill in what I have called a community suburb—that is, a well-planned and well-balanced community separated from the parent town by a liberal spread of open land, but not at such a distance as to raise difficulties about bringing the child under the same local government as the parent.)

It is a definite drawback in some respects that the satellites should be within the commuting ambit of Greater London, serving partly as dormitories and with the great magnet as the centre for much of the shopping and entertainment and other interests. They would in effect, still be just suburbs, kept at a distance.

Surely it is much better to aim at two or three towns, preferably beyond the ordinary commuting limit, towns which would be self-contained in the main, with shops and entertainments and the rest of a standard and range to satisfy most even of the exacting, except for occasional outbreaks. And there are wider advantages in a well-planned community so rich in facilities and opportunities that its citizens can look within its own limits for most of their satisfactions.

There are, therefore, moral and æsthetic reasons, as well as economic, for striving for such towns. Is the policy practical? It is surely at least as practical as building ten satellite towns, as proposed in the report. And it should serve at least as well as a means of providing for the overspill of London, and better for attracting industries which might be established in London or its neighbourhood if permitted—except for the dormitory overspill and, if needs must, a few small satellites might be provided for them, with some industries for better balance. The rapid growth in recent years of a place like Luton suggests that there is opportunity for such towns as previously suggested, especially around existing well-chosen nuclei.

These proposals are not put forward in any dogmatic spirit. As one who has fought hard for planning through many difficult years and is more convinced than ever of its need, and by no means only in the development of town and country, what impresses me more and more strongly is the need for more light on the many difficult problems which arise, light which can come only from far more intensive research. The more I examine the views which have been here expressed, the more I feel sure that they promise a much better solution of the problem of Greater London than satellite towns, but my chief plea is for more of this competent, impartial and thorough research, especially because of the new industrial era into which we are passing. There is still some time, except for the matters of immediate urgency, and a little even for some of these, but the sands are falling low.

Contemporary Topics and Reports

Training of Civil Servants

First Report of the Joint Committee of the Civil Service National Whitley Council on the Training of Civil Servants

I.—INTRODUCTORY

1. The Assheton Committee on the Training of Civil Servants expressed the hope (paragraph 22 of their Report, Cmd. 6525) that "some way will be found of associating the National Whitley Council with the more general oversight of training policy for the Service as a whole." In pursuance of this recommendation we were appointed as a Joint Committee of the National Whitley Council to keep the field of training under continuous review and to consider problems on which it might seem useful to offer observations to Departments.

2. As a first step we have completed a review of the recommendations of the Assheton Committee, and in general we are in cordial agreement with them. The Assheton Committee did not, however, attempt to go into great detail, or to pursue implications which clearly led beyond training. We feel therefore that there is some room for interpretation, for enlargement, and upon some points for further consideration. We have set out in Section II below, such comments on the Assheton Committee recommendations as we wish to offer for immediate consideration. Where no comment is made, our agreement may be assumed.

3. We offer the following remarks on a set of problems which the Assheton Committee were not called upon to consider, but which are now urgent and important, namely, those involved in the entry or return to the Civil Service of persons from the Forces or other war-time employment.

Detailed proposals will vary according to conditions in each Department, but we consider that the whole subject demands sympathetic and imaginative treatment. We are glad to note that careful schemes have already been worked out in some Departments.

The following suggestions are offered as a basis on which we think departmental schemes might be devised.

(a) On arrival these officers should be made to feel a genuine welcome, and, as far as practicable, should be received by a senior officer with the right personal qualifications.

(b) They might then be allowed a week, if they so desired, in which to "browse round" and get the "feel" of the office before entering on any formal training course, or being assigned to a duty.

(c) There should be formal training arrangements for bringing them up to date with developments during the war—particularly in Departments whose functions have changed substantially. The arrangements should be on a reasonably liberal basis, though they will no doubt vary in accordance with departmental conditions.

(d) It should be the conscious aim of Departments and all existing staff to create the right atmosphere of tolerance and helpfulness, particularly but not merely, towards officers suffering from any nervous and physical disability, throughout the period of training and re-adaptation.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

4. It may be convenient to indicate here those points in our Report to which we attach most importance after paragraph 3 above:—

(a) Relationship of the Departmental Training Section to the Departmental Organisation and Methods Section (paragraph 8 below).

(b) Need to consider arrangements at the Treasury for dealing with the special problems involved in the training of professional, scientific and technical classes (paragraph 9 below).

(The Assheton Report deals with the professional, scientific and technical classes only in passing. We have included some observations on the relative paragraphs of the Report, but further comment may be required later in the light of additional information and suggestions submitted to us.)

(c) Inclusion of Whitleyism in the syllabus of training courses (paragraph 11 below).

(d) Effect of training on staff complements—importance of a margin (paragraph 14 below).

(e) Training for supervision (paragraph 16 below).

5. We welcome the action already taken on some of the Assheton Committee recommendations by a number of Departments, for instance, in the appointment of Departmental Training Officers, consultation with Departmental Staff Sides on training plans and preparation of reception schemes for civil servants returning or entering from the Forces. We welcome also the arrangements for central training that have been made by the Treasury, some of which are referred to below.

6. To permit the maintenance of an effective review of training developments we would suggest that the Treasury should request Departments to furnish periodical reports on departmental training schemes. We suggest that these reports might be made annually, and that first reports should cover training preparations and activities up to 1st January, 1946. We assume that copies of these reports would be made available to us in ordinary course.

II.—COMMENTS ON THE ASSHETON COMMITTEE REPORT

(Paragraph numbers in this section refer to the Assheton Committee Report.)

7. We have found it useful to adopt the following terms to describe the various main categories of training:—

(a) *In-Service Training* covering both vocational and background training, arranged wholly by Departments and normally taking place in official time. This heading includes central training arranged by the Treasury (paragraphs 25-38 and 43-47).

(b) *External Training* covering vocational training involving employment of outside lecturers or institutions for which the Government accepts some degree of financial liability (paragraphs 39 and 87-88).

(c) *Further Education* covering non-vocational education for which Departments may or may not provide facilities but do not accept any financial liability (except for under-18's) (paragraphs 40-42).

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

8. Paragraphs 19-20—*Organisation—Departmental.*

We understand that in some Departments Training and Organisation and Methods have as a matter of expediency been linked in one Division or Branch.

We think that normally, below the level of the Principal Establishment Officer, the Departmental Training Section should be independent of the O. and M. Section. As it is undesirable to divorce training from other work, we think that no one should remain a Training Officer permanently, though tenure of the post should be for a substantial period; but there might be occasions when the transfer of a Training Officer to a similar post in another Department would secure the advantage of a change of experience without involving loss of valuable technique.

The size of a Department is not necessarily an accurate gauge of the volume of Training work, and it is not, therefore, possible to lay down hard-and-fast rules about the staffing of Training Branches.

9. *Organisation—At the Centre.*

Special problems are likely to be involved in the training of the professional, scientific and technical grades, and we suggest that the Treasury should consider what arrangements are required at the centre to enable them to deal with such problems.

10. *Paragraph 21—Selection of Training Staff (and Training Technique).*

The main problem concerns the training of adults or at any rate of those for whom the technique of adult instruction is appropriate rather than the technique of the schoolroom. We think therefore that attention should be paid to modern developments in the technique of adult instruction, and for that reason particularly welcome the institution by the Treasury of a central course on that subject for departmental training staff.

We take this opportunity of recommending that there should be as much use of the discussion group method of instruction in preference to the formal lecture as circumstances will profitably allow. There is much to be learnt from the methods of instruction developed in the Army during the war, and especially from their emphasis of the fact that effective teaching must be based on two-way traffic between instructor and pupil.

11. *Paragraph 22—Need for Staff Co-operation.*

We consider it desirable also that Whitleyism should be included where appropriate in the syllabus of training courses, including the above-mentioned course for trainers.

12. *Paragraph 24—Probation.*

We think that training arrangements covering the probationary period should take account of the needs of the "slow-starter," and should normally include a trial on actual work as well as a formal training course.

13. *Paragraph 25—Reception, etc.*

We feel that there might usefully be two introductory booklets, one centrally prepared dealing with the Service as a whole, the other dealing with the particular Department. We are glad to learn that the Treasury have undertaken to produce a booklet in simple terms (dealing briefly with the development, traditions and structure of the Civil Service, the essence of a civil servant's job, methods of work, conditions of service, rules of conduct and the right of association) which will be complementary to those produced departmentally. Reference to the functions of professional, etc., staff should be included in any picture of the work and structure of the Department given in departmental booklets.

14. *Paragraph 27—Effect of Training on Complements.*

We regard the following passage in the Assheton Report as an essential basis of all plans for training:—"There must, however, be a clear recognition that neither teacher nor taught can be available whole-time for effective work.

Training must be regarded as part of the work of the Department and full allowance made for it in all staffing budgets. This is not wasteful; on the contrary it is the essence of sound management." Training, if rightly organised, will in the long run lead to a saving in intake. But a training margin is essential in the first instance if training schemes are to be put on their feet. Departmental complements should therefore be fixed, in consultation with the Treasury, to allow a sufficient margin for training. In view of the differences between Departments we do not think it possible to suggest a standard percentage increase, but in most cases it should be possible to make an estimate on a factual basis.

15. *Paragraphs 28-31—Training for Mobility.*

We fully agree with these proposals, but we recognise that exceptional housing conditions during the immediate post-war years will make the policy very difficult to implement.

16. *Paragraph 32—Training for Supervision.*

We think the following principles might be added to those enunciated:—

(a) That the training ought not to be wholly concentrated in a single short course but should be a gradual process.

(b) That it should be available, not only to officers engaged full-time in supervision, but also to those, e.g. some Executive Officers, who have a part-time supervisory load.

(c) That it should inculcate a sense of responsibility for the well-being of the staff supervised as well as for their performance.

The recommendation that, wherever possible, an officer should be tried in a supervisory post before being promoted to it, involves difficulties of organisation which seem to us to require further careful consideration.

We welcome the experimental adoption by certain Departments of the scheme of training for supervision known as "Training within Industry."

17. *Paragraph 36—Libraries.*

Consideration should be given to the establishment, where appropriate, of regional and local as well as central, libraries.

18. *Paragraph 37—Use of Films.*

We note with approval that the Treasury has formed a small panel of Departmental Training Officers to consider the making of some films of general use in training throughout the Service, and to keep in touch with developments in the use of films and other visual aids to training.

19. *Paragraph 39—External Training.*

We endorse the recommendation on the understanding that external qualifications alone would not be regarded as a sufficient justification for promotion. We note that the Treasury are making a general review of external training in order that common principles may be framed for application where practicable in all Departments.

20. *Paragraph 41—Further Education of under-18's.*

We note with approval that it is already common practice for Civil Service juveniles up to age 16 to attend day continuation schools for one whole day a week in official time, and that departments are encouraged to allow them to continue such education voluntarily up to age 18.

21. *Paragraph 42—Relationship between National Whitley Council and Civil Service Council for Further Education.*

Action is being taken to carry out this recommendation.

APPLICATION OF GENERAL PRINCIPLES

CLERICAL CLASS

22. *Paragraph 52—Departmental Reception Course for Clerical Entrants.*

Staff not posted to Headquarters should be told something about Headquarters and *vice versa*.

23. *Paragraph 54—Staff having Direct Contact with the Public.*

Special training may be desirable for those officers (including inspectorial grades) who will be engaged in work of an investigatory character, whether in the office or the homes of the public or business establishment, etc.

24. *Paragraph 55—Clerical Staff on Large-scale Repetitive Work.*

We assume that the tests referred to would not be competitive but relative to a standard of performance.

25. *Paragraph 56—Clerks in Miscellaneous Divisions—Training in Registry.*

We think that trainees should normally remain in a registry only long enough for the purpose of training to be served. We are not in favour of the automatic allocation of all new entrants to registry work for a substantial period.

26. *Paragraph 59—Inter-departmental Transfers.*

We believe that the policy would provide useful scope for much undeveloped ability. We think that difficulties of seniority should not be allowed to stand in the way, but the difficulties undoubtedly exist and require further consideration.

TYPING GRADES

27. *Paragraphs 66-68—Recruitment and Training of Typing Staff.*

Typists employed on professional, etc., work should be given sufficient knowledge of the technical language of the subjects with which they have to deal.

With regard to paragraph 67 we note with approval that the Treasury has organised a central course of instruction for secretaries or personal assistants.

October, 1945.

Training and Qualification of Hospital Administrators

Report of a Joint Committee

I.—INTRODUCTORY

IN June, 1943, at the invitation of the Institute of Hospital Administrators, an exploratory conference was held with Sir William Goodenough in the Chair. The following organisations were invited and sent representatives:—Association of Municipal Corporations, British Hospitals Association, County Councils Association, Mental Hospitals Association, London County Council, Ministry of Health, Department of Health for Scotland, Board of Control, Joint University Council for Social Studies, National Association of Administrators of Local Government Establishments, and National Association of Local Government Officers, together with the Institute of Hospital Administrators. That

conference gave general consideration to the question of the training and qualification of hospital administrators, laying down the following broad principles:—

- (i) That hospital administration is of such importance as to call for special training leading to a recognised qualification.
- (ii) That it is desirable to establish a standard qualifying examination in hospital administration (to be taken in one or more parts) and to lay down conditions for admission to the examination.

The Conference also agreed that the bodies there represented should form a Joint Committee to consider, in greater detail, the practical application of these two principles, the Ministry of Pensions, as a hospital authority, subsequently accepting the invitation of the Joint Committee to nominate a representative.

2. The Joint Committee met on 9th May, 1944, and considered the form and content of an examination in hospital administration. Having indicated the main features of any such examination the Joint Committee asked a drafting committee composed of representatives of the Institute of Hospital Administrators, the National Association of Administrators of Local Government Establishments, and the National Association of Local Government Officers, to prepare a draft scheme for achieving the objects in view. The report of the sub-committee was received and considered at a further meeting of the Joint Committee held on 5th October, 1945, when the following proposals were adopted as recommendations to the organisations concerned:—

II.—EXAMINATIONS—GENERAL PRINCIPLES

(a) *Conditions of Entry to Examinations*

3. We consider it of fundamental importance that persons appointed to positions of administrative responsibility should have reached a satisfactory standard of general education. Further, without that basic qualification, we do not think that a candidate has the necessary foundation for more advanced study. We therefore recommend that all candidates should be required to produce satisfactory evidence of a good general education, the list of approved certificates not being too narrow and reasonable provision being made for those already in hospital service who may not be able to produce the prescribed evidence.

4. As the purpose of the examinations is to provide evidence that successful candidates have been trained for the specific task of hospital administration and as—unless coupled with practical experience—success at an examination conducted on the normal lines cannot afford such evidence, it is recommended that entry to the Final Examination should be confined to persons who have worked on the administrative staff of a hospital for a certain minimum period, two years being suggested. As for most other professional examinations preparation should be spread over a period of about five years.

(b) *Intermediate and Final Examinations—Form and Content*

5. There is a wide range of subjects of importance in the education of the hospital administrator. Some are of a general character, such as Elements of Economics or Commercial Law, whilst others are peculiar to hospital administration, such as Hospital Supplies and Catering or the General Law Affecting Hospitals. We recommend that the syllabus for the Intermediate examination be confined to the more general and basic subjects, leaving the particular and specialist subjects to the Final Examination. Thus the young entrant to the hospital service will proceed from the general to the particular, and as his knowledge of hospital administration increases through direct experience in his day-

to-day work so his training in theory and practice should combine to enable him to derive the fullest advantage from his studies, in preparation for the specialised Final Examination.

6. The Final Examination should be directly related to the practical work of hospital administration. We do not consider it necessary to have separate papers for each of the three sections of the hospital service—municipal, voluntary and mental; though there are differences in law and administration between them, we prefer to stress the essential unity of hospital administration as a profession. In certain of the Final subjects, however, the choice of questions should be wide enough not to favour the candidates engaged in any particular section.

(c) Exemptions

7. No exemptions should be granted in respect of any part of the Final Examination, but candidates who have already passed a university or other approved public or professional examination of suitable standard in any subject or subjects, should not be required to submit themselves for the Intermediate examination in such subject or subjects.

III.—EXAMINATION SYLLABUS AND REGULATIONS

8. The syllabus and examination regulations contained in Appendices¹ I and II conform to the principles stated in Section II of this Report, and are recommended for consideration by such organisation as may be entrusted with the work of conducting the examinations. The proposed regulations will need amplification by the examining body, in point of detail, and both syllabus and regulations will call for modifications from time to time in light of experience.

IV.—THE EXAMINING BODY

(a) General Principles

9. In considering what would be the most suitable body to organise and manage an examination on the lines just proposed we have had regard to the past history of the examinations within the particular field of hospital administration and also to possible future developments in the general field of examinations covering the Local Government service.

10. The Incorporated Association of Hospital Officers, which was founded in 1902, from 1925 conducted examinations in hospital administration which have been generally recognised by voluntary hospital boards. Likewise, the Incorporated Association of Clerks and Stewards of Mental Hospitals, founded in 1904, from 1927 conducted comparable examinations which were similarly recognised by mental hospital visiting committees. The two associations amalgamated in 1942 as the Institute of Hospital Administrators, the then existing examinations being continued with the syllabuses practically unchanged pending the outcome of the deliberations of this committee. In 1942 the Institute provided a suitably modified interim examination syllabus for those in public authority hospitals other than mental hospitals.

11. Had regard been had solely to the previous history and present position of the examinations for hospital administration we would have recommended that the Institute should be recognised as the professional body with sole responsibility for establishing the examination qualifications of hospital administrators. This would have been in full accord with the present position of other established professional institutes catering for the various sections of the Local Government service, treasurers and accountants, rating and valuations officers, municipal and county engineers, etc.

¹ Not reprinted here.

12. We were aware, however, that the Hadow Committee on the Recruitment and Training of Local Government Officers was "inclined to think it wrong in principle that officers should be in sole control of their own qualifications, especially if it has the result that they obtain a monopoly of the appointments within their profession" (para. 144). We therefore welcomed the proposal of the Institute of Hospital Administrators that employing authorities, government departments and the universities should be asked to appoint representatives on the Institute's Examination Committee, and that the special interest of NALGO in the broad field of local government education and qualifications as well as the close affinity of NAALGE should also be recognised by representation.

13. We also gave some thought to the possibility of a completely independent examining body on the lines of the Poor Law Examinations Board. We have rejected this as a practical solution though the NALGO representative expressed his Association's view that ultimately all examination qualifications for local government officers would tend to come under a single independent examining body. As we have already indicated the Institute of Hospital Administrators have had a long and successful experience of holding examinations in this field and the knowledge gained by their Council and Education Committee is of particular importance in handling the content and balance of subjects in the Final Examination, which is the real test of whether the candidate understands the practical working of his profession. Any Local Government Examinations Board which may be established would probably, in the first instance at least, concentrate on providing a broad examination in what may be termed "public administration." Such an examination, if of the necessary standard, would no doubt enable a successful candidate to claim exemption from the whole or part of the Intermediate Examination for hospital administration. In time, if and when such a national Examinations Board developed, some working arrangement might well develop between it and the Examinations Committee of the Institute of Hospital Administrators. Any such future development on these lines could not however be confined to hospital administrators, but would necessarily involve most of the other professional institutes catering for one branch or other of the Local Government service. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that the Institute of Hospital Administrators covers both public authority and voluntary hospitals and there are obvious advantages in having an examination which covers all sections of the hospital service; indeed the Hadow Committee on Recruitment and Training were critical of the establishment of separate technical qualifications for particular branches of the Local Government service where more general professional bodies provide such qualifications.

(b) *Constitution of Proposed Examining Body*

14. It is proposed that each of the following Government Departments be invited to appoint a member to the Education Committee of the Institute, viz., Ministry of Health, Ministry of Pensions and Board of Control; that each of the following organisations of employing authorities be invited to appoint two members, viz., Association of Municipal Corporations, British Hospitals Association, County Councils Association and Mental Hospitals Association, and that the London County Council be separately represented by one member; that the National Association of Local Government Officers and the National Association of Administrators of Local Government Establishments be invited to appoint two members each; that the Joint University Council for Social Studies be invited to appoint one member; and that there be ten Institute members, making 27 members in all.

CONTEMPORARY TOPICS AND REPORTS

Whilst we appreciate that so large a committee as this may be inconvenient for day-to-day administration of the examination scheme recommended in this Report, we feel that in no other way could all interests be adequately represented. We therefore further recommend that whilst the Education Committee should itself decide all questions of major policy, it should be empowered to delegate the actual conduct of the examinations and other routine matters to a smaller Examinations Committee appointed by and responsible to it, receiving regular reports of the work of that Committee.

16. The Education Committee and, subject to its direction, the Examinations Committee would be responsible for holding the examinations in hospital administration, appointing examiners, deciding standards, and prescribing the regulations and syllabus, etc. Subject to that the Committee would operate within the framework of the Institute, using the Institute's offices; and the senior administrative officer of the Institute, who was expressly appointed for the purpose of directing its educational work, would be responsible for arranging the examinations and carrying out the instructions of the Committee. The cost of conducting the examinations would be met out of the examination fees charged, but should this not be sufficient for normal purposes, the Institute accepts financial responsibility.

17. An Education Committee so composed, with full control over the examinations in an important field of the public service yet at the same time working within the framework of a professional institute, appears to us to be an important development and worthy of every support. The employing authorities should have extra confidence in appointing and promoting persons who have passed an examination with the control of which they, the employers, will have been concerned, whilst on their part, the members of the Institute of Hospital Administrators will feel reinforced in their work of raising the standard of their profession.

V.—APPLICATION TO SCOTLAND

18. Owing to differences in law, practice and administrative structure between England and Wales on the one hand and Scotland on the other, the foregoing proposals refer in the first instance only to England and Wales. The Institute of Hospital Administrators proposes, at an early date, to call a meeting of interested Scottish authorities and organisations to consider its application to Scotland.

VI.—RELATION OF PROPOSED EXAMINATION TO THE PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATESHIP OF THE INSTITUTE OF HOSPITAL ADMINISTRATORS

19. We understand that at the present time a person who is successful at the examinations of the Institute of Hospital Administrators receives a certificate to that effect, which is independent of the professional Associateship, election to which ordinarily depends upon possession of the Final Examination certificate, and also on compliance with rules as to length and nature of hospital experience. We recommend that this distinction should continue as we do not consider it desirable that compulsion should be put upon any person seeking a special type of administration post to become or remain a member of any particular professional organisation. Nevertheless we appreciate the advantages of such membership, and must not be understood to advise against it as manifestly the scheme here suggested is based on the assumption that the Institute will continue strong enough to undertake the responsibilities laid upon it.

VII.—RECOGNITION OF THE EXAMINATION

20. The object of our recommendations is the establishment of a standard qualification in hospital administration to provide employing authorities with a generally recognised criterion of professional achievement which, if his practical experience and personal qualifications were also taken into account, would afford a satisfactory measure of the suitability of any candidate for a particular hospital administrative post. It is not intended, however, that the discretion of employing authorities in making appointments should be fettered in any way.

21. Even if it were desirable it would be manifestly impossible for a very long time to come to insist that *all* candidates for senior hospital administrative posts should possess the new examination qualification. It is confidently hoped, however, that hospital authorities will give due weight to a qualification established as a result of decisions in which their representatives have shared and controlled by a committee upon which they will be represented, and that they will in all appropriate cases require that candidates for senior hospital administrative posts shall hold the new diploma unless already in the hospital administrative service before the new arrangements become operative. Furthermore, persons who have already passed the professional examinations of the Incorporated Association of Hospital Officers, the Incorporated Association of Clerks and Stewards of Mental Hospitals, or, after the fusion of the two Associations, of the Institute of Hospital Administrators, should receive full credit for the qualifications they hold, and consideration should be given to the practicability of enrolling them as though they had taken the new examination. Similarly, the position of existing holders of the Institution and Hospital Officers' Certificate of the Poor Law Examinations Board must receive due consideration.

VIII.—TRAINING OF CANDIDATES

22. In this report we have concentrated mainly on the solution of the problem of establishing a recognised written examination qualification. We have not made any detailed suggestions as regards the recommendations of the Conference that hospital administration called for special training, except in so far as we have suggested a syllabus for an examination which could generally be passed only by a candidate with suitable practical experience. We have worked on these lines because we felt that thus general agreement might be reached on certain broader issues and co-operation in the first stage, viz., the establishment of a standard examination, achieved. If this step is taken—as we hope it will be—we suggest that the Education Committee should in due time explore the possibility of special training of candidates, a matter largely dependent on the policy and the good will of employing authorities, and one in which little progress could be expected under war conditions.

IX.—ADMINISTRATORS IN INSTITUTIONS OTHER THAN HOSPITALS

23. We found some difficulty in determining the limits of our report owing to the fact that many institutions which are not ordinarily regarded as hospitals contain a considerable number of beds for the chronic sick, and for other sick persons. In the circumstances we recommend that during the transition period the term "hospital" should be given the widest interpretation so that officers of all institutions where there is a substantial number of beds for the chronic sick, or for other sick persons, may be deemed eligible for the examinations. Even so there will still be some officers in institutional service who will not be catered for by the above proposals. This question will thus remain to be dealt with.

Reviews

Law and Orders. An Inquiry into the nature and scope of Delegated Legislation and Executive Powers in England

By C. K. ALLEN. (London: Stevens and Sons, Ltd.) Pp. xvi + 385. 15s.

ONE of the best things in Mr. Allen's latest, most painstaking and most thorough review of the problem of delegated legislation, a problem which our readers will be aware has long disturbed him profoundly, is the quotation he has put on the title page as his motto. It is so good and, despite the fact that it was written 335 years ago, so relevant to some of the deepest problems of contemporary civilisation, that it is worth reproducing here. It is a quotation from a petition by the House of Commons to James I in 1610, and is as follows:—

"Amongst many other points of happiness and freedom which your Majesty's subjects of this Kingdom have enjoyed under your royal progenitors . . . there is none which they have accounted more dear and precious than this, to be guided and governed by certain rule of law. . . . Out of this root hath grown the indubitable right of the people of this Kingdom not to be made subject to any punishment that shall extend to their lives, lands, bodies or goods, other than such as are ordained by the common laws of this land or the statutes made by their common consent in Parliament."

With this ancient and honourable doctrine inscribed upon his banner, Dr. Allen ranges widely over the vast field of modern government. A more seasoned and practised warrior since the earlier days when the battle cry was "Bureaucracy Triumphant," he nevertheless wields his broadsword with energy and a sustained, if no longer a somewhat reckless, enthusiasm. His motto proclaims his belief that a fight is still to be had on this particular battleground. He has done his best to provoke one, but the results on the whole are disappointing. Some of the objects of his lance are already corpses. The notorious "Henry VIII" clause which, until it was discovered to be a harmless skeleton, did brief duty as a bogey man and arch-fiend of the New Despotism, is no longer able to rattle its chains. Indeed, the search for the enemy has not proved at all rewarding. At times what seems to be smoke on the field of battle turns out after a brief reconnaissance to be mere morning mist . . . but wait, an advanced guard who should know what he is talking about reports: "A despotic power which at one and the same time places Government departments above the Sovereignty of Parliament and beyond the jurisdiction of the courts."

The chase is on: with his 1610 banner streaming in the wind, Dr. Allen spurs towards the foe, who, if the report is right, is "in the highest degree formidable" for he "amounts to nothing less than a deliberate conspiracy to overthrow democracy." The report—out of sympathy with Dr. Allen, we almost add "alas"—turns out to be a false alarm. He returns with the admission that "it is little short of absurd to conceive the average civil servant as a cloaked Guy Fawkes placing barrels of gunpowder under the Houses of Parliament." But he met with one or two ill-featured rascals on the way—"Civil servants . . . of extremely autocratic temper . . . who did not disguise their contempt for Parliament and all its works nor their confidence in the efficacy and superiority of their own methods." However they did not amount to an army, yet Dr. Allen, with little blood on his sword, is still by no means content. The fact is that the psychology of combat is out of place in this sphere. The evils he wishes to expel "do not spring from the sinister designs or the perverted

views of individuals. They spring from the inherent characteristics of the system. And for the system it is not the civil servant, and it is not even Parliament who is responsible. It is the nation." The times in fact are out of joint. Civic virtue of 1610 A.D. and earlier no longer stands out in its simplicity and strength. It is not until page 191 that this conclusion is finally reached although there was a hint of it on page 90, where Dr. Allen concisely says that "the weakness lies not in machinations but machinery."

What has been said so far presumes that the readers of PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION are already well aware of the debate which has been waged for many years over the whole question of the desirability of allowing Government Departments to frame rules and regulations and to make orders in the practical execution of the duties they have been called upon by Parliament to undertake. It would be a poor compliment to them and to Dr. Allen to proceed upon any other assumption. The literature on the subject is now so extensive, not merely in this country but also in the United States, where the same problem is also acute, that it will be familiar ground to all who take a practical as well as a theoretical interest in administration and in problems of government. The "high spots" both here and in the United States are the two official enquiries. The British were first with the Report of the Committee on Ministers' Powers in 1932 [Cmd. 4060]. The United States Report on Administrative Procedure in Government Agencies [77th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Document 8] appeared nearly ten years later in 1941. Another British Committee was appointed in 1944 to review the question once again, but has not yet reported.

Dr. Allen has something to say about the British "Donoughmore Report," as it is known, but nothing about the corresponding "Acheson Report" (to apply to United States Committee Reports the British practice of christening them with the name of their chairman).

The omission is unfortunate because the hard core of the real problem is more quickly revealed when the necessity for regulation by administrations to supplement law-making by legislatures is seen to impose itself not merely in Great Britain but also in the United States. In other words the problem is general to our age and time. The casual reader would hardly gather as much from Dr. Allen's pages. He does, it is true, provide 24 pages on "The History of De'egation," but it is a lawyer's history not the history of an administrative or social problem. The Acheson Report, on the other hand, had the merit of looking at the problem from the point of view of "the procedures and the procedural practices of the administrative agencies, and the general methods provided for judicial review of their decisions."

Dr. Allen's work is more in the nature of a treatise on the pathology of administration than one upon the balanced functioning of a part of a healthy organism. He has managed to collect and pickle some queer specimens of administrative aberration. But he does not make their frequency or their relation to the whole operation of government as clear as he ought to have done. To say this is not to criticise him for failing to write a book on a different subject. His aim is comprehensive enough as the titles of his chapters show:—

1. The Balance of Power.
2. The History of Delegation.
3. The Powers that Be: Legislative.
4. The Powers that Be: Judicial.
5. Parliament and the Executive: I. At Present.
6. Parliament and the Executive: II. In the Future?
7. The Judiciary and the Executive.
8. The Public and the Executive.
9. The Executive at War.
10. The Fountain of Justice.

Planned on these lines, Dr. Allen's volume might have been a manual and guide to the operation of executive power in the modern State. It does, indeed, illuminate the subject sufficiently to make it a volume which no serious student of the problem of government would wish to overlook. It suffers, despite Dr. Allen's obviously sincere effort to be scrupulously fair, because it seems designed less to contribute to the progress of public administration than to document the case of the critics of public administration. That is, of course, a necessary contribution, but we still lack the higher synthesis. With his usual felicity of phrase, Sir Cecil Carr in the *Law Quarterly Review* (of October, 1942) recalled how in 1929 "British civil servants were indicted for conspiracy to steal certain powers, the property respectively of the Legislature and the Judiciary." If on that occasion Dr. Allen could not be described as counsel for the prosecution, he certainly did not act as the prisoner's friend.

It is clear from what has been quoted already and from his account of the Civil Service (pages 173-204) that he is no mere bureaucracy-baiter. His attitude to the subject is coloured by his sceptical distrust of the aims and methods of the "social purpose" State which is the dominant characteristic of organised community life to-day. He is not sympathetic to the notion that "in the last century the whole conception of the relationship between the State and the individual has greatly changed," perhaps so fundamentally that "a complete revision of our constitutional system is demanded." What he states dispassionately in his book he has said elsewhere more emphatically shortly before it was published.

"Let there be no mistake," he wrote in an article entitled "The Dance of the Skeletons" in the *Sunday Times* of 27th May, 1945. "It is a short step from executive absolutism to government by decree, and a still shorter step from thence to the total State. This has been the history of totalitarianism everywhere. The threat comes both from the Right and the Left." Again, a little later, in a letter published in the same newspaper (10th June, 1945), he summed up his views by saying, "If the theory of modern government is that every detail of public and private life must be regulated by law and demi-law, then the real truth is that the thing cannot be done without absurdity, contradiction, and, in the end, complete stultification." This is surely an extreme example of the easy game of demolishing a man of straw.

In view of such an attitude it is difficult to regard the present work as a detached, scientific and judicial review of one of the most pressing problems of our time. Not that it is necessary to look outside the work itself for evidence of Dr. Allen's standpoint. It appears, for instance, in such remarks as those on page 201 about the size of the Civil Service, recording that "Already by 1938 the Civil Staffs numbered 376,491. This was the last year in which the numbers were published in a Command Paper; since then, so far as I can discover, the information has not been supplied, either because it is not thought expedient to publish it or because nobody can count the officials." We fancy this is a sentence Dr. Allen will wish to amend in future editions of his book. Later figures than those he quotes were given in the Report of the Committee on the Training of Civil Servants [Cmd. 6525, 1945] and in the "Statistics relating to the war effort of the United Kingdom [Cmd. 6564 of 1944]. We specially commend the last-mentioned publication to Dr. Allen's attention, since it also gives some evidence, which seems to have escaped his notice, about the constructive contribution, in which civil servants have also had some part, of State-directed activities tending towards the preservation of the country and the defeat of the King's enemies. He might not then be quite so confident that "the Civil Service has been allowed to proliferate, at vast expense, beyond all reasonable necessity" [p. 282]. How can anyone trained to weigh evidence with judicial

care commit himself to such a remark without being certain (as he confesses he is not) of the numbers employed in the Civil Service and of the nature and value of their contribution to social well-being (in which he exhibits scanty interest)?

Despite his weight of legal learning, the justice of many of the criticisms he levels against administrative action in the past, his readiness to acknowledge the necessity of much of the administrative activity he instinctively deplores, his genuine devotion to the cause of human freedom, and the soundness of the various remedies and safeguards he proposes for the future regulation of this particular branch of administrative management of the affairs of the Great Society, Dr. Allen has not made so significant a contribution to public administration as many of his readers, and possibly he, with them, no doubt suppose. His book falls short of what it might have been because he has written upon an aspect of government without seeming to possess a clear grasp of the nature and necessity of the executive task or of the administrative principles by which it should be guided.

F. R. C.

Housing and the State

By DR. MARIAN BOWLEY, B.Sc. (Econ.), Ph.D. (Geo. Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1944.) 15s.

A VALUABLE and stimulating contribution to the study of housing, a vital problem in most countries at the present time, is to be found in Dr. Marian Bowley's book.

With the cessation of hostilities the housing question comes to the fore in Great Britain with even greater insistence than after the 1914-18 war, and this book analyses the efforts made to cope with the question during the inter-war years and the reasons why those efforts were not more successful. Completed at the end of 1943, it does not take into account the further deterioration of the housing position, particularly in the Metropolitan area, caused by the air raids, flying bombs and other missiles during 1944.

The book is divided into two parts, the first dealing with the methods adopted by the State to improve the supply of houses during the inter-war years, and the second with the unsettled questions of housing policy.

The necessity for State intervention in the supply of houses after the 1914-18 war is stated to be a combination of the introduction of rent control in 1915 and the low level of building during the war, but the desire of the people for a higher standard of housing was no doubt also a potent factor. The methods adopted by the State for improving the supply, the reasons why they were adopted and the results achieved are examined by Dr. Bowley in considerable detail, well supported by statistics.

The inter-war housing policy of the State is divided into three sections, each being regarded as a separate experiment of the State in providing new houses. These experiments were as follows:—

First, 1919-23.—All losses in excess of a penny rate to be borne by the Government. Lump sum grants to private enterprise in respect of houses which conformed to certain conditions as to size.

Second, 1923-1933/4.—Fixed State subsidies per house per annum for 20 or 40 years.

Third, 1934-9.—Varying State subsidies restricted to rehousing for slum clearance and the abatement of overcrowding.

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Prior to the 1914-18 war the housing problem was basically the problem of the health of towns, referred to as a "sanitary policy," but permissive powers were given to local authorities by the Housing Act of 1890 to provide for general housing needs. These were made obligatory in 1919. (It may be mentioned here that under Part III of the 1890 Act the London County Council had up to 1919 provided nearly 4,000 dwellings.)

Under the first experiment the local authorities had to bear the annual cost of housing up to a limit of a penny rate, any additional cost being borne by the State. That limit was soon reached in many areas, and the State found that additional building, with mounting costs, was throwing on it too heavy a burden, and the scheme was closed down, with the result that only about 250,000 houses (including 50,000 unsubsidised) were provided in the period as against requirements exceeding one million.

It was assumed that temporarily private enterprise would neither be willing nor able to build working-class houses. Building by private enterprise during the period was in fact confined to houses for sale, and the total number erected with and without the lump sum subsidy was less than two-thirds of the number built by the local authorities.

This experiment failed because of the Government's inability to deal with the problem of the rising cost due to the limited resources of the building industry and not, as was the current opinion, to the novel approach to the problem by way of a subsidy.

The second experiment relied more on private enterprise than on local authorities to provide the necessary houses, and under the 1923 Act local authorities could only build houses themselves if they convinced the Minister that it was better if they did so than if they left it to private enterprise. The Wheatley Act of 1924, however, passed by a Labour Government, restored the powers of local authorities to build houses for letting and, though the subsidy was payable in respect of such houses built by private enterprise, it was realised that private enterprise would concentrate on other than working-class houses. Private enterprise was quick to react to this new market, which left the risk almost entirely with the purchaser, and progressively lower financial strata of the community were catered for, until in 1939 there were some million and a half borrowers from building societies.

In total, under the second experiment, almost sufficient houses were provided to meet the requirements, but the need of working-class houses at rents within the reach of the majority of families was far from met. The failure to provide the necessary working-class houses is stated to be primarily due to the inadequate output by local authorities and to the high rents charged for them. With a fixed subsidy per house local authorities kept a close watch on the rate burden. Nevertheless, local authorities in England and Wales provided 504,500 houses during the period under the 1924 Act, the contribution of private enterprise under that Act being only 15,800. Under the 1923 Act, which did not require that the houses built should be let, local authorities provided 75,300 houses and private enterprise 362,700. Unsubsidised building by private enterprise produced about 1,100,000 houses during the period from April, 1924, to September, 1934.

The third experiment was a return to the sanitary policy, the Government subsidies being paid in respect of accommodation provided to rehouse persons cleared from slum areas or living in overcrowded conditions. Local authorities were still able to provide houses for general needs, but so far as the costs were not met out of rents they had to be met from rates.

Local authorities under the third experiment provided 362,000 houses in England and Wales, of which 73,000 were for general housing needs and built without subsidy. Private enterprise built only 8,000 subsidised houses but unsubsidised building amounted to 1,300,000 houses. The building of this huge number in 4½ years was assisted by a phenomenal development of building societies, but only the upper sections of the working classes were able to take advantage of the facilities offered for purchase.

Dealing with unsettled questions, Dr. Bowley devotes a chapter to the consideration of the purpose of housing policy and another to the rent question. The inter-relation between rents, rent control, subsidies and housing position receive in fact deserved attention throughout the book: the impact of the Uthwatt, Barlow, Scott and Beveridge reports on the question generally is skilfully treated; and Dr. Bowley's suggestions on the necessary alterations in the incidence of local and central taxation, as they affect housing, deserve intelligent appreciation. She concludes with chapters in which the fundamental problems unsettled in 1939 are considered in relation to the new factors arising from the war.

In the concluding chapter Dr. Bowley refers to the limitations of private enterprise and of local authorities, and to the probability that the building of houses for the working classes will be left, as in the inter-war years, almost entirely to the local authorities. In accepting this view she suggests that the solution must be in an improved State organisation.

Among the points which emerge from Dr. Bowley's skilful handling of the subject are that in the absence of a settled Government policy as regards housing there was considerable variation in the output throughout the inter-war period, that the rent position was in an unsettled state, and that the subsidies did not sufficiently operate to benefit those most in need. She is in favour of greater use being made of rent rebates, a form of public assistance, which necessarily involves some sort of means test for the claimants. It is recognised that the responsibility for rehousing the substandard families is essentially one for the local authority assisted by the State.

It hardly seems that due credit has been given to the efforts of local authorities, and especially those of the larger authorities, whose tasks in providing for the needs of their working classes have been exceptionally heavy. In contrast to the statements that under the first experiment the Treasury to all intents and purposes footed the bill and that under the 1923 Act no subsidy from the rates was required, the London County Council's accounts for 1938-39 show that as compared with an Exchequer subsidy of £370,159 under the 1919 Act the rate contribution was £221,188 and that the corresponding figures for the 1923 Act were £56,465 and £56,004, respectively.

An index to this admirable book would be welcome, though its absence is fully understood in view of the conditions under which it was produced as stated in the preface.

C. WALKER.

The Making of Scientific Management

By L. URWICK and E. F. L. BRECH. Vol. I. *Thirteen Pioneers*. (Management Publications, 196 pp.) 7s. 6d.

WHAT a disappointing and ill-balanced book this is! Or did I expect too much? No more, I think, than the title and chapter headings led me to expect. The first chapter is headed "Scientific Management and Society." Then follow twelve chapters each purporting to deal with a person well known to the followers

of scientific management—Taylor, Fayol, Follett, Gantt, Gilbreth, Elbourne, etc. Then comes a chapter headed "Scientific Management and Government," and finally a chapter "The Evolution of an Idea." Surely, I said to myself, just the kind of book needed in this field; it must describe how the concept of scientific management developed, what were the contributions of the main pioneers, how a later contribution modified the body of thought then existing, and so on. But no—from reading the book it is almost impossible to gather the main ideas behind scientific management much less understand what were the respective contributions of the pioneers.

Most of the pioneers were devotees of F. W. Taylor, so at least one would have thought that the chapter on this idol of the scientific managers would have contained clear exposition of his ideas and practice. Yet amid the odd facts about his early life and his development of a harder tool steel there are interspersed odd snippets such as "to reduce the craft of the tradesman to precise and detailed written instructions. All the features of the practice to which he (F. W. Taylor) gave the title *Scientific Management* sprang from that central principle. He approached any form of industrial work, any problem, not as a mystery, skill which could only be acquired by years of use and want, but as a definite logical structure of cause and effect. . . ." And again, this time quoting a statement made by Taylor, "The great revolution that takes place in the mental attitude of the two parties under scientific management is that both sides take their eyes off the division of the surplus as the all-important matter, and together turn their attention toward increasing the size of the surplus . . . one more change of viewpoint . . . is absolutely essential to the existence of scientific management. Both sides must recognise as essential the substitution of exact scientific investigation and knowledge for the old individual judgment and opinion, either of the workman or the boss, in all matters relating to the work done in the establishment." That is substantially all I can glean about Taylorism from this chapter, yet, the introductory chapter says, "What Taylor did was not to invent something quite new, but to synthesise and present as a reasonably coherent whole ideas which had been germinating and gathering force in Great Britain and the United States throughout the nineteenth century. He gave to a disconnected series of initiatives and experiments a philosophy and a title It detracts nothing from Mr. Taylor's greatness to see him thus as a man who focused the thoughts of a preceding age, carried that thought forward with a group of friends and colleagues whose united contribution was so outstanding as to constitute a "golden age" of management in the United States, and laid the intellectual foundations on which all subsequent work in Great Britain and many other countries has been based." Clearly Mr. Taylor was a greater man than the chapter devoted to him indicates.

It must be said in fairness to the authors that some of the other chapters are more revealing. A real attempt is made to indicate the slim content of Mary Follett's writing; Fayol, of course, is reasonably easy to deal with; Gilbreth's contributions in the field of motion study and industrial fatigue are covered in probably the best chapter in the book; and the chapter on Seeborn Rowntree is clear and pleasing. But even in these chapters one gains little or no impression of the development of a body of knowledge: the term scientific management is found on every page, often more than once, in fact so frequently that one begins to suspect the first word to have a hypnotic effect on the devotee.

The chapter on "Scientific Management and Government" is merely a scrappy account of the Report of the President's Committee on Administrative Management (1937). We are told, "Thus for the first time, the philosophy developed from the work of F. W. Taylor and other pioneers has been applied practically to the government of a great nation." It was indeed an excellent

report, the product of Brownlow, Merriam and Gulick, three people who have made a great contribution to American public administration. But I am inclined to think that each one of them would deem it strange that in a book which touches at many points on scientific management in relation to government administration, no mention is made of the British civil and local government services—the best and most efficiently organised system of any of the major powers. This is a strange omission, and when one looks at the index and finds only two references to the Civil Service, the second of which reads, “Fails to use B. S. Rowntree” one is tempted to believe that the omission is intentional. Perhaps in the second volume in this series, which it is said will fill in the historical background so far as Great Britain is concerned, some recognition will be given to British contributions in the field of government. And may one plead for the inclusion of Jeremy Bentham, that earliest exponent of the application of scientific thought to the conduct of government. Somehow I have a sneaking feeling that his contribution was greater than of most of the pioneers described in this book.

There is a good bibliography of the writings of the “pioneers” at the end of the chapter devoted to each of them.

D. N. CHESTER.

Nation and Family

By ALVA MYRDAL. (The International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction. Editor: Karl Mannheim. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd.) 21s.

THIS book was devised and mainly written in times of peace, but at a time when the destruction of democratic government in the Western World appeared possible. It was written, moreover, with clear-sighted appreciation of the obliterating powers that would, in such a case, ruthlessly be exercised.

But, having weighed this, Fru Myrdal says in her preface:—

“This book will be one of the testimonies of how we were labouring, planning and dreaming in the fields of population, family, and social reform whilst we were still free and independent.”

Alternatively she recognised that if, after the war, social progress was still possible time would be saved if a detailed programme was available.

From this high standpoint of courage, and in face of such uncertainty, was the work proceeded with. In normal times courage would be required for the presentation of a national policy which placed children and children's needs as its main assets, and which related family life in all its bearings to that policy, taking for granted general agreement with such views. Fru Myrdal and her husband, Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, ten years ago aroused Swedish interest and stirred the minds and hearts of their countrymen in the problems of population and family life in so forceful a manner that a population commission was established in Sweden, and some of its findings are included in the book now under discussion.

The first part of “Nation and Family” deals with facts and statistics of population, and, whilst admitting that conditions in Sweden are not ideal and that the problems of a declining population are, at the moment, less urgent there than in some democratic countries, the general problems of family life are drawn from Swedish experience.

No aspect, national, political, social or economic seems to have been omitted.

Birth control and education with goals and means for population policy followed by a section on qualitative population leads to discussion on family

allowances whether in cash or kind, marriage and education for marriage, the relief of insecurity, and the protection of working mothers. The redistribution of income according to family size is allied to a defence of the pleasure of young couples both of which must form part of any policy concerning population.

The recommendations made under these headings are all built upon the conclusion that the idea of equalising the worst economic handicaps by co-operative pooling of resources has already tacitly been accepted by Western society. It is therefore assumed that time is ripe for the proposal that the growing social reforms in all advanced countries shall be aligned in a plan.

"A social policy equalising income hazards, and a population policy equalising the burden of child support must be co-ordinated."

This is summed up by the conclusion, to British ears startling if inevitable, but to Fru Myrdal apparently simple!—I quote her words:—

"Finally, the population situation is such that if the community does not remove some of the costs for children from the parents the parents will prefer a birth strike."

It cannot indeed be denied that the last word does lie with the parents, and it must be acknowledged that, with the growth of knowledge of birth control, a national policy which puts children's needs first has become a matter of urgency.

Housing of families has a section to itself, one of the main suggestions being the proposed allocation of rent, not on the house alone, but on the number of members in the family which is to live in it.

Experiments have, of course, been made on similar lines in Britain, Belgium, and France, but on a small scale and privately.

Feeding is treated as a problem of equal urgency as housing, and valuable figures are quoted following national investigation. Health is another important chapter showing as the point of departure for new reforms in Sweden the need that national responsibility for all health care of children be undertaken. It covers also free pre-natal care and provision for child-birth, again allied with co-operation and good neighbourliness, with a recommendation that the nation rather than individuals carry the responsibility. Household helps and maternity bonus are suggested, although it is agreed that maternity aid can be expected to become out-moded when economic conditions generally, and women's wages in particular, become more ample.

Social insurance and opportunities for education, both for children and adults find their place in the programmes outlined—but in the final chapter on the place of women in society the whole book is qualified by the warning that:—

"It might then happen that, despite all income equalisation, income for children . . . the whole population programme might fail if women are fundamentally dissatisfied with the status designed for them."

The book itself has one drawback, it costs 21s., and with the present paper shortage not many copies are printed.

MAUD GATES.

Mission of the University

By ORTEGA Y. GASSETT. Translated with an introduction by Howard Lee Nostrand. Princeton University Press, 1944.) (London: Sir Humphrey Milford.) Pp. 103. 13s. 6d.

WHATEVER the verdict to-day upon Senor Ortega's "Revolt of the Masses," with the publication of which in 1932 he first made a deep impression upon the English-reading world, there can be little doubt that most of its readers will want to see any sequel to it. In his earlier work he proclaimed, at a time when

the doctrine was neither welcomed nor readily believed, that there were evils in plenty crying out for solution, and that it was high time the world woke up to the fact. His thesis, then, crudely condensed, was that European civilisation was endangered by the new barbarians breeding within it. That notion was not new in 1932. It had been proclaimed by Disraeli a hundred years earlier, and Macaulay, in one of his rare moments of pessimism, prophesied something very similar for the United States. Mass man, said Ortega in that striking work, is self-satisfied, vulgar, always unwilling to tolerate a partnership in government or in life, insisting upon getting his own way, resorting readily to direct action, and, worst of all, lacking any standards and any ideas. The average man may wish to have opinions, but he "is unwilling to accept the conditions and presuppositions that underlie all opinion. Hence his ideas in effect are nothing more than appetites in words." The essence of his lament was that "the direction of society has been taken over by a type of man who is not interested in the principles of civilisation."

These words, first published in Spain in 1930, had a prophetic significance, the full import of which must have eluded a world in which the names of Ley, Streicher, Goebbels, Göring, Himmler and Hitler as yet lacked significance.

In the following year Senor Ortega published the present study, which now, after an interval of fifteen years, has been translated and published with a useful introduction giving some information about the author's career as a teacher of philosophy and as a sociologist, a brief appraisal of his general lines of thought, and an American academic reaction to the work.

Ortega's essay is short and simple as befits the occasion of its composition. It contains the essence of an address delivered to the Federation of University Students in Madrid. Although it begins with some very plain speaking about the shortcomings of Republican Spain (the root of whose difficulties are put down to slovenliness—*la chabacaneria*) it very soon gets down to the grand theme of the mission and purpose of the university in modern society. The doctrine that the university should concern itself first and foremost with the teaching or transmission of culture is one which any reader of "The Revolt of the Masses" would expect. The necessity of preaching that doctrine plainly and unmistakably arises in Senor Ortega's view, because of the two false paths along which university activities have been directed. One is professional instruction—the manufacture of specialists: engineers, physicians, lawyers, scientists, all necessarily uncultured by reason of the limitations of their specialisms. The other path is research. Senor Ortega is not of course a foe either of professional training or of research work. His passionate belief is that specialisation is no substitute for general culture. What is this general culture which it is the main mission of the university to impart before all else? It is briefly "the system of vital ideas which each age possesses and by which the age lives." Consequently it changes with cultural epochs. To-day he holds it essential to impart the five great cultural disciplines without which no man or woman can gain any comprehension of the achievement of our age or live, as he puts it, "at the height of the times." The essential "subjects" or faculties or disciplines are:—

1. The physical scheme of the world (Physics).
2. The fundamental themes of organic life (Biology).
3. The historical process of the human species (History).
4. The structure and functioning of social life (Sociology).
5. The plan of the Universe (Philosophy).

Let us, he says, in educating the young, recognise the limits of the attainable as the supreme rule of practical wisdom and give up striving to cram in less essential subjects before this basic minimum programme has been achieved.

Stop the ordinary student wasting part of his time in pretending that he is going to be a scientist or an historian. Throw overboard merely instrumental studies such as higher mathematics, the mastery of which is essential for making the sciences but not for understanding their import for human life.

Only on this basis, says Senor Ortega, can the world become intellectually alert and abreast of the times. An immense work has to be accomplished. "Never perhaps has the ordinary man been so far below his times and what they demand of him. Never has the civilised world so abounded in falsified, cheated lives."

Because the universities of all countries in the nineteenth century have failed to put first things first, because they have not made sure in the first place to guarantee the transmission of culture, but have run off trying to teach for the professions, to engage in scientific research and training new scientists, we have arrived, he holds, at "this unpredicted barbarity" when a "gentleman who professes to be a doctor or magistrate or general or philologist or bishop—that is a person who belongs to the directive class of society" can be "a perfect barbarian" because he lacks a sound knowledge of the physical cosmos, a coherent picture of the great movements of history, the fundamental facts of organic life or any idea how speculative philosophy conceives to-day its perpetual essay to formulate a plan for the universe"—in short any of the five great disciplines.

"There is no other way to move with assurance in the tangle of life." "What we call to-day 'a cultured man' was called more than a century ago 'an enlightened man,' i.e. a man who sees the paths of life in a clear light." Clearly Ortega's view of "culture" has nothing of that snobbish flavour the word is apt to arouse in certain literary and artistic circles where it is too apt to suggest limited interests such as the Classics, Botticelli, or a taste for Tang pottery. For Ortega, culture must be heavily charged with intellectual content. "The originality of Europe compared with other races, other lands and other ages" is "the peculiar resolution adopted by the European man, to live according to the dictates of his intelligence." "The University is the intellect, it is science erected into an institution."

The relevance of these striking and categorical views to the problems of government and administration will be immediately apparent. Looking beyond government offices to the "diffuse pressure or influence exerted upon the body politic," which is the wider meaning he gives to the word "governing," Senor Ortega naturally concentrates his attention not upon the civil services alone but upon the professional men who make up the bulk of the bourgeois classes. Nevertheless it is plain that in his view public servants must "aside from their several professions, possess the power to make their lives a vital influence, in harmony with the height of their times." The system by which it is possible in entrance examinations to higher grades of a Civil Service to qualify by gaining high marks in a subject such as chemistry is not likely to find much favour in Senor Ortega's eyes.

It should be evident from the few indications above, that Senor Ortega has a powerful contribution to make to the urgent question of university reform now being debated to-day. On the 9th October, 1945, Convocation of the University of London was invited to consider the aims of university education and the problem whether university courses are giving students an adequately balanced training "to stimulate and train them . . . to think strenuously about the great issues of right and wrong, of liberty and government . . ." or "are the universities too pre-occupied with the problem of purely professional vocations for their students"?

Reading such an agenda in October, 1945, cannot fail to stimulate some wonder at the fifteen years' delay which has occurred in presenting to English

readers a translation of the immediate sequel to a book so well-known in England and in the United States as "The Revolt of the Masses." The success of that work according to Dr. Nostrand has been so great across the Atlantic that "in many an American public library it is the most battered volume of all those which have attempted in the past decade to convince the ordinary citizen of his cultural incompetence." Grateful as we must be to the University of Princeton Press for at last making it available, it is impossible to avoid the rueful reflection that the 65 pages of Senor Ortega's words now cost British readers in the sterling area two dollars, which they either do not possess or should use for the more elementary satisfactions of life. In any case Sir Humphrey Milford has to charge them thirteen shillings and sixpence for the book. The answer that the book is well worth the money is only half the reply to the painfully obvious question, why between 1930 and 1938 no means had been found to produce it under a British imprint?

F. R. C.

The Scholar and the Future of the Research Library

By FREMONT RIDER. (New York: Hadham Press. 1944.)

MR. RIDER sets out to convince the world, particularly the library world, not merely that revolutionary methods are now necessary to cope with the ever-rising tide of printed, roneoed and manuscript material, but that these methods are also available. He undoubtedly succeeds in both tasks.

In the first place his statistics of library growth are truly staggering. There is apparently a statistical "law" which Henry Thomas Buckle would have been delighted to have discovered, that the important larger libraries catering for the learned world (called in this book "research libraries") double in size every sixteen years. Smaller libraries, such as those of the smaller colleges for men, have doubled every 22 years. At least the statistics of the growth of ten such colleges undoubtedly show such uniformity. Similarly, statistics for ten larger institutions show the sixteen-year periodicity. Sociologists have a fact here which should stimulate some ingenious theorising. Extrapolating this geometrical progression Mr. Rider is soon led to some startling conclusions. A hundred years hence the Librarian of Yale University is pictured in charge of 200 million volumes, occupying 600 miles of shelves, requiring 8 acres of floor space for the index cards alone, and a staff of 6,000 merely to catalogue the 12 million new acquisitions arriving each year.

What such an institution is likely to cost on present lines of management can be partly estimated when it is known that to catalogue and house an average book in a library now costs nearly double the published price of the book itself. The figures are:—

	\$
1. Average purchase price	0.95
2. Binding and minor physical preparation ...	0.40
3. Cataloguing	1.05
4. Storage (capitalised)	0.75

Average total per volume ... \$3.15

The remedy for this impossible burden is at hand. It takes the form of greatly reduced photography, microphotography, not on films but on cards. The development of highly sensitised card stock will, prophesies Mr. Rider, make it possible to photograph 250 pages of an average book, pamphlet or periodical on the back

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of the index card on which the book is listed in the library card catalogue. The research library of the future will be very largely a vast card-index. To read a "book" in it will involve taking the card from the index drawer and placing it in a "viewer." Mass production will provide good viewers at a cheap rate. Every library will have batteries of them. Every scholar will have his own. The multiplication of the card-books or micro-cards will be easy. Mr. Rider proposes a penny in the slot machine to reproduce micro-cards from the library indexes. Put the card and five cents in the machine and it will photograph, develop, fix, dry and deliver a perfect copy in a few seconds. A library of five hundred "volumes" will be a small addition to one's week-end suitcase. The poor scholar will be able to find room for a respectable library of many thousand volumes in a small suburban house. The Palestinian sage who wearily observed two thousand years ago that there was no end to the making of books deserves yet another tribute to the profundity of his insight.

Not merely is space saved by micro-cards but money also—lots of it. It is now an expensive matter for a library to accept a gift of books. An 80-page pamphlet may be delivered free, yet it costs an American library \$1.50 (7s. 6d.) to bind, catalogue and preserve. To turn it into a micro-card would cost 15 cents, to file the card 3 cents, or a total of 20 cents (1s.). An expensive book published at \$5 costs the library \$6.64. On the back of two micro-cards it costs 36 cents.

What are the snags? The chief is of course the possibility that viewers will become as cheap as Mr. Rider hopes. At present, although he does not say so, there seems little hope of very great reductions in their cost, which is very high. Microfilm viewers are more manageable. Then again the cards assume the pre-existent manuscript, typescript or printed book. As long as they remain copyright they must not be reproduced on micro-cards without payment.

Mr. Rider considers this objection of small account in comparison with the vast amount of non-copyright material ready to hand and urgently needing to be made available. Government publications, departmental records, newspapers, out-of-print non-copyright books, and manuscripts will, he holds, keep the micro-card makers busy for generations to come. He foresees also a wide sphere of utility for the cards in administration, commerce and industry.

It is a fascinating prospect which he opens before us, and the research scholar will have only one question to ask (since finance should be, as Mr. Rider correctly observes, of secondary concern in the advancement of knowledge). The question is the title of Mr. Rider's last chapter, "Micro-cards—When?"

F. R. C.

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF QUARTERLY REVIEWS AND OTHER PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

<i>Review</i>	<i>Principal Contents.</i>	<i>Author.</i>
Public Administration Review. (Vol. V, No. 3, Summer, 1945.)	The United Nations: Reorganizing the World's Governmental Institutions.	Walter H. C. Laves
	Bureaucracy and the Problem of Power.	Reinhard Bendix.
	Notes on the Governmental Executive: His Role and His Methods.	Donald C. Stone.
	The Role of Budget Planning and Personnel as Staff Services.	Merrill J. Collett.
	Some Problems of Army Depot Administration.	Schuyler Dean Hoslett.
Journal of Public Administration. (New Zealand Inst. of Public Administration. Vol. VII, No. 2, March, 1945.)	English in the Public Service - - Helping Junior Staff to Find their Feet The Government Railways Industrial Tribunal.	Prof. I. A. Gordon. L. S. Hearnshaw. T. P. Davin.
	Administering the Policy: Economic Stabilization.	M. J. Moriarty.
	Towards Functional Administration	J. P. Lewin.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

<i>Review</i>	<i>Principal Contents.</i>	<i>Author.</i>
Public Administration : The Journal of the Australian Regional Groups of the I.P.A. (Vol. V, No. 6, June, 1945.)	Urban Planning in the Americas - Administrative Aspects of the Banking Bills. Health in Modern Society - -	Frank S. Gaines. J. D. B. Miller. A. R. Southwood, M.D.
The American Political Science Review. (Vol. XXXIX, No. 4, August, 1945.)	The Bureau of the Budget : Its Evolution and Present Role. I. State Constitutional Law in 1944-45 - American Government and Politics : The Service Vote in the Elections of 1944. The Deserted Primary in Iowa - Instruction and Research : Areas for Post-war Research - Political Science in the Next Decade. Doctoral Dissertations in Political Science.	Fritz Morstein Marx. Jacobus tenBroek and Howard J. Graham. Boyd A. Martin. Kirk H. Porter. Joseph E. McLean. Pendleton Herring. David Fellman.
Public Administration : The Journal of the Australian Regional Groups. (Vol. V, No. 5 (New Series), March, 1945.)	War-time Agricultural Planning in Australia. Local Government in Australia : (1) Victoria - - - (2) South Australia - - - (3) Tasmania - - - (3) Western Australia - - - (5) Queensland - - - (6) Why an Institute of Public Administration ?	Walter Ives. F. A. Jenkins. V. S. Shephard. A. W. Knight. M. Tauman. C. E. Chuter. F. R. E. Mauldon.
Oxford Economic Papers. (No. 7, March, 1945.)	The "Short Cycle" in its International Aspects. Capitalist Enterprise and Risk - Myrdal's Analysis of Monetary Equilibrium. Rationing the Consumer - - Full Employment by Stimulating Private Investment ? Some Theoretical Problems of Post-war Foreign Investment Policy. The Building and Contracting Industry.	K. Forchheimer. J. Steindl. G. L. S. Shackle. K. W. Rothschild. M. Kalecki. T. Balogh. I. I. Bowen and A. W. T. Ellis.
British Association for the Advancement of Science. (Vol. III, No. 10.)	The Indian Scientific Delegation Conference. The Place of Science in Industry Conference. Applications of Science : Food - - - - - Water - - - - - Anthropology - - - - Fatigue - - - - - Mineral Resources - - - -	Prof. J. R. Marrack. Prof. P. G. H. Boswell. Mrs. Hingston Quiggin and Prof. J. H. Hutton. Prof. E. P. Cathcart. Dr. D. Williams.
The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science. (Vol. 11, No. 3, August, 1945.)	Constitutional Adaptations to Changing Functions of Government. The Board of Transport Commissioners as an Administrative Body. The Stabilization of the Income of the Primary Producer. Economic Effects of the War on the Prairie Economy.	F. R. Scott. A. W. Currie. Andrew Stewart. Vernon Fowke.

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF QUARTERLY REVIEWS, ETC.

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The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science. (Vol. II, No. 3, August 1945.)	New Zealand in the Post-war World Canada's Relations with War-time Agencies in Washington. Social Psychological Characteristics of Evacuated Japanese. Arctic Survey: iv. A Yukon Domesday, 1944 - v. Transportation in the Canadian North. The Sampling Approach to Economic Data. Bibliography of Canadian Economics.	Horace Belshaw. S. D. Pierce and A. F. W. Plumptre. Forrest E. LaViolette.
British Management Review. (Vol. V, No. 3, 1945.)	Editorial. Management as a Subject of Instruction. Management Lessons of the War—Industrial Relationships. The Art of Giving Orders - - Managerial Problems During the Transition Period.	Griffith Taylor. H. W. Hewetson. Nathan Keyfitz. L. Urwick. E. F. L. Brech. F. J. Burns Morton. A. P. Young.
Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities. (June, 1945.)	Report of Proceedings of Eighth Annual Conference. No. 2: Civil Aviation - - - - Town Planning - - - - Housing and Slum Clearance - Municipal Post-war Public Works Projects. Where's the Money Coming From?	A. C. Henry. George F. Emery. W. M. Anderson. Garnet Coulter. Paul Beaulieu.
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Kansas Government Journal. (Vol. XXXI, No. 7, July, 1945.)	Compensation of City Officers and Employees. Survey of Hospital Costs - - Tax Levies - - - - County Social Welfare. Sales Tax Distribution. Good Water can be Safe too - Etc.	Albert B. Martin. Dr. F. C. Beelman. Albert B. Martin. George M. March.
Kansas Government Journal. (Vol. XXXI, No. 8, Aug., 1945.)	Municipal Incentives to Industry - Rural Electric Service and Rates by City-owned Utility Systems. Kansas State Revenue Trends. Municipal Bond Sales. Municipal Law in the Making. Etc.	Harold M. Groves.
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